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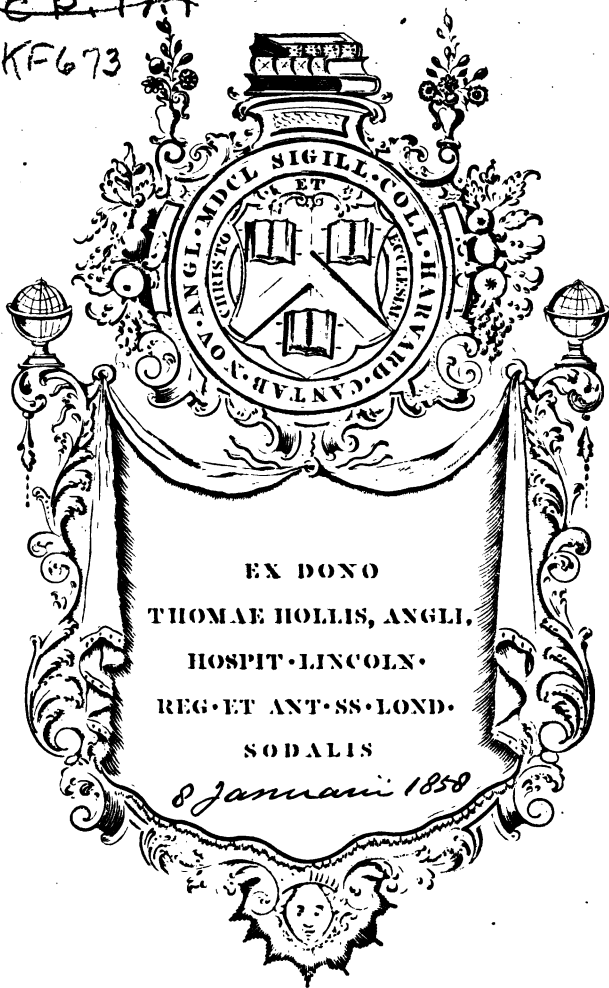
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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has increased from 600 million to 800 million (FAO 1996).

There is a growing awareness of the need to improve the nutritional status of the world's population, and the World Bank has been instrumental in this regard.

The World Bank has been instrumental in the development of the *World Development Report 1996* (WDR 1996), which is a key document in the field of nutrition.

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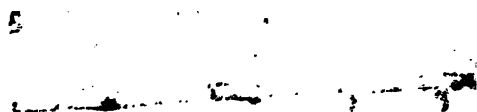
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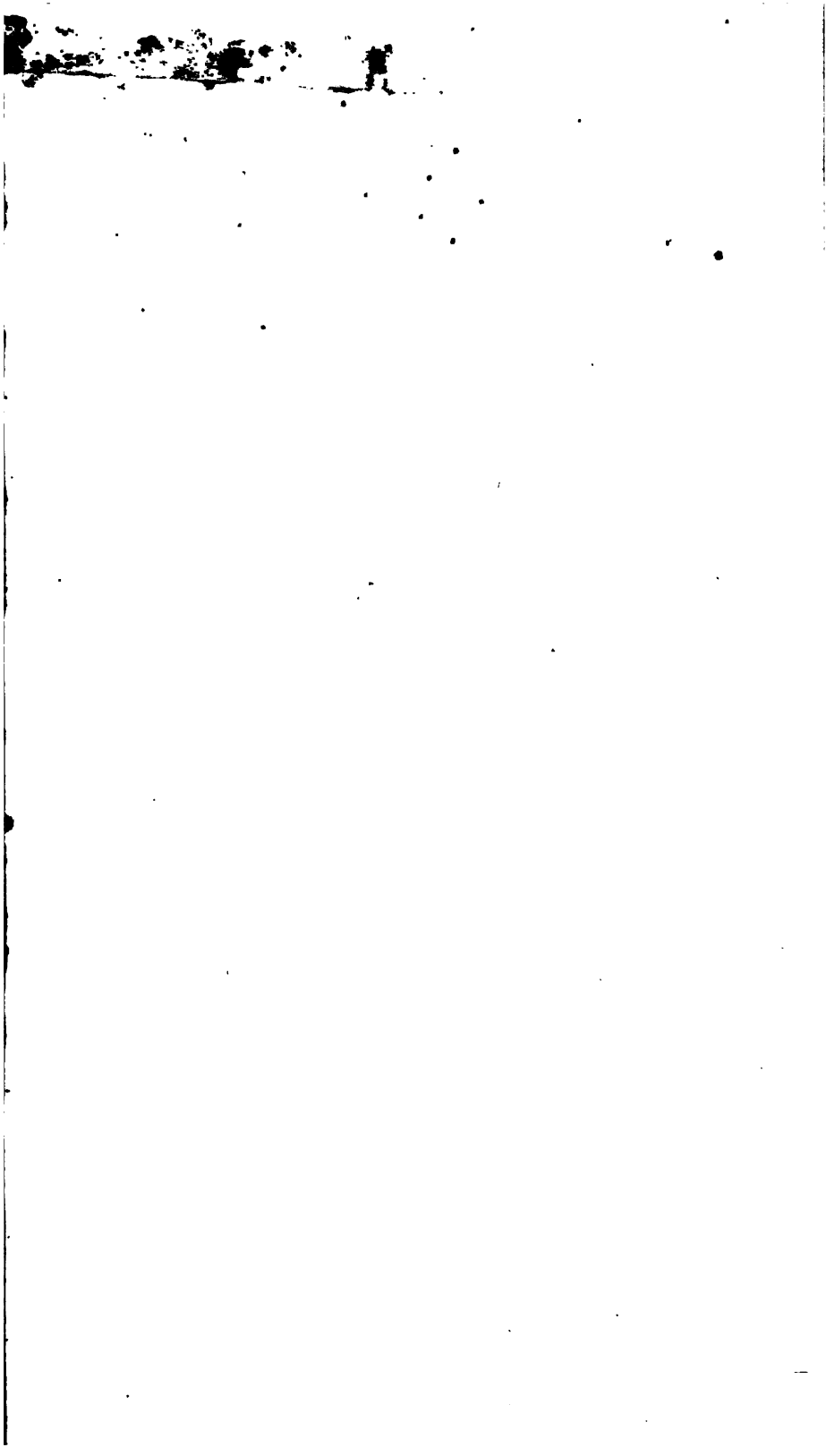
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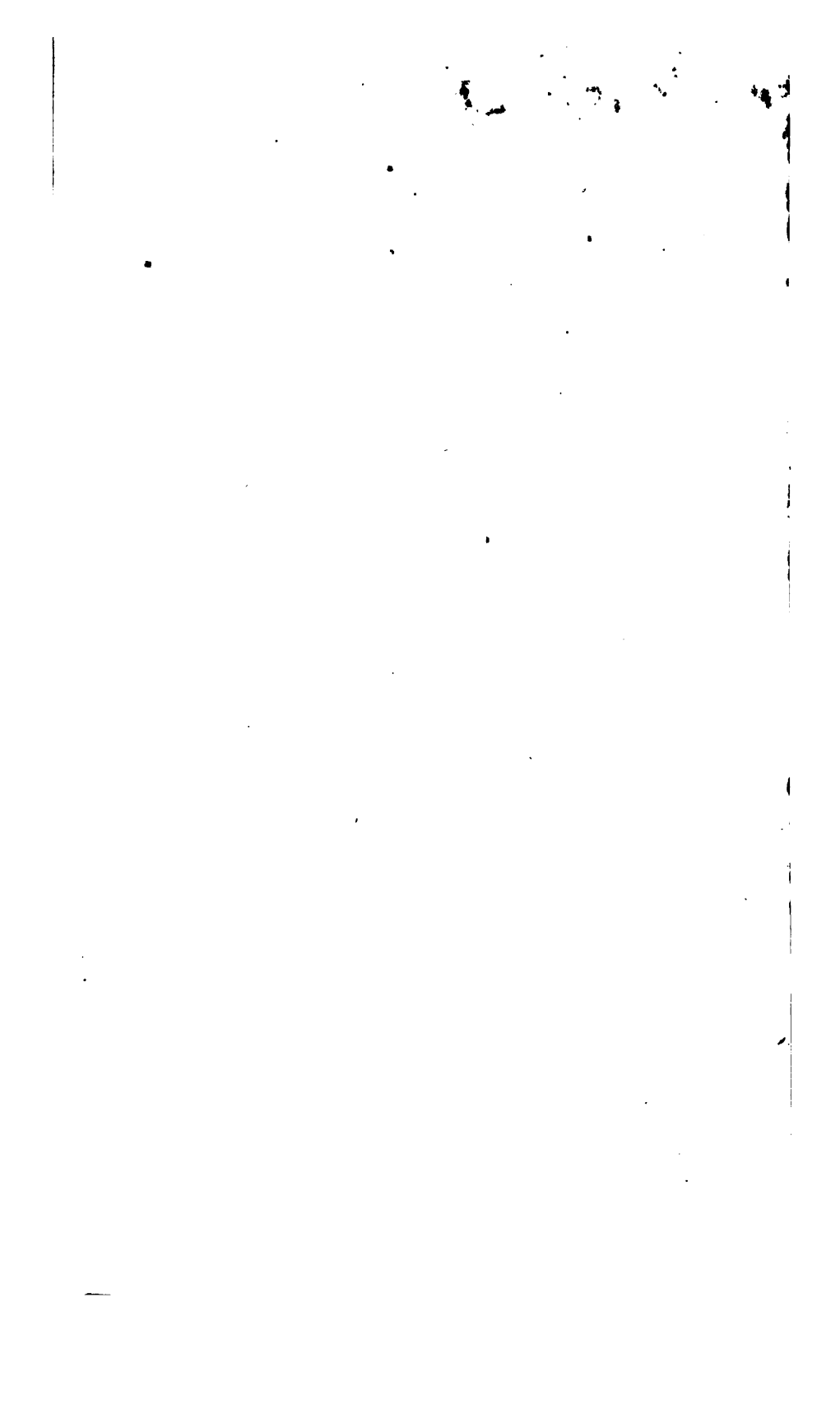
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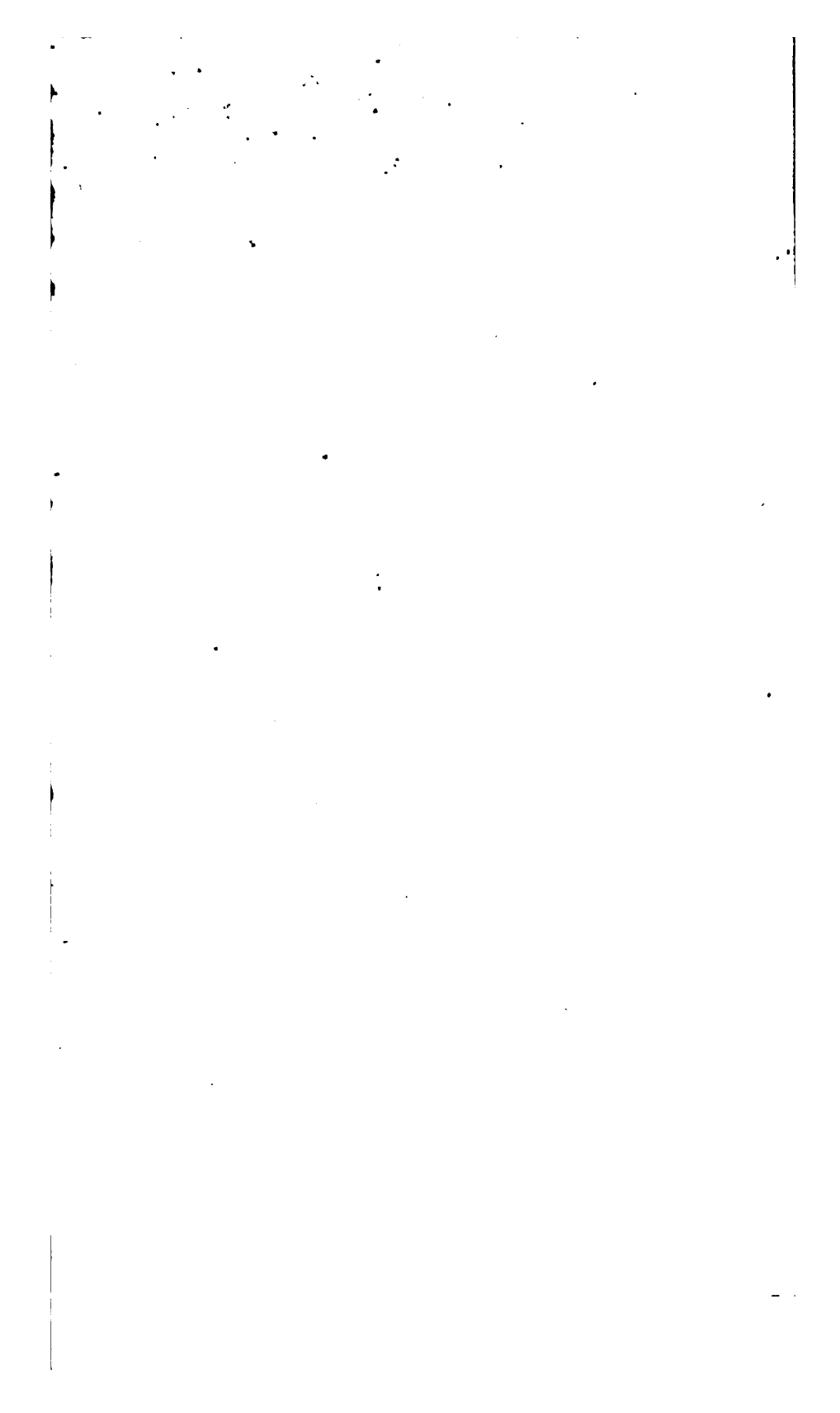
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THE
BIBLICAL REPOSITORY.

CONDUCTED BY
EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D.
Late Professor Extraordinary in the Theological Seminary at Andover.

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1858 January 8

By exchange of duck bought with Hollander

ADVERTISEMENT.

With the present volume, the labours of the undersigned as Editor of the Biblical Repository, close. As its Founder and Conductor, he has now for four years devoted his best time and talents to the work ; and has been cheered in his progress by the high approbation of eminent christian scholars and divines in this and foreign lands. But this approbation has been won, and the work hitherto sustained, at an expense of time and labour, for which nothing in the shape of adequate remuneration has been received by the Editor,—farther than the consciousness of not having laboured in vain. Under these circumstances, and bowed down with broken health, he feels it to be a duty which he owes to himself, to his family, and perhaps to the churches, to withdraw from the station which he has hitherto occupied as the conductor of a public Journal.

In thus retiring from this more public station, it is by no means the subscriber's intention to abandon the field of labour in which it has so long been the business and solace of

his life to hold a humble place. But whether his days shall be prolonged for the completion of other works illustrative of the Bible, or whether his race of life be soon to close, he would ever say, **THY WILL, O GOD, BE DONE !**

E. ROBINSON.

Boston, Oct. 1, 1834.

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THE
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No. XV.

JULY, 1834.

**ART. I. HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGE IN
ITS VARIOUS DIALECTS; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.**

Continued.

B. WESTERN SLAVI.

I. History of the Bohemian Language and Literature.

OF all the Slavic languages, the Bohemian dialect with its literature is the only one which can, in the mind of the evangelical theologian, excite a more than general interest. Not so much indeed by its own nature, in which it differs little from the other Slavic languages; but by those remarkable circumstances, which in the night of a degenerate Catholicism, made the Bohemian tongue, with the exception of the voice of Wickliffe, the first organ of truth. Wickliffe's influence, however great and decided it may have been, was nevertheless limited to the theologians and literati of the age; his voice did not find that responding echo among the common people, which alone is able to give life to abstract doctrines. It was in Bohemia, that the spark first blazed up into a lively flame, which a century later spread an enlightening fire over all Europe. The names of Huss and Jerome of Prague can never perish; although less success has made them less current than those of Luther and Melancthon. In no language of the world has the Bible been studied with more zeal and devotion; no nation has ever been more willing to seal their claims upon the Word of God with their blood. The long contests of the Bohemians for liberty of conscience, and their final destruction, present one of the most

heart-rending tragedies to be found in human history. Not less ready to maintain their convictions with the pen than with the sword, the theological literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and the first twenty years of the seventeenth centuries, is of an extent, with which that of no other Slavic language can be compared. It is true, however, that most of these productions bear decidedly the stamp of the period in which they were written. Dictated by the polemical spirit of the age, and for the most part directed by one protestant party against another, there is very little to be found in them to gratify the Christian, or from which the theological student of the present day could derive any other than historical instruction. On the other hand, while the theological literature of all the other Slavic nations is almost exclusively limited to sermons, catechisms, prayer-books, and other devotional exercises, among the Bohemians alone do we meet with exegetical researches and interpretations, founded on a scientific examination of the original text of the Scriptures.

Having thus acknowledged the claims of the theologian first, we must add, that other departments of the Bohemian literature are equally rich, and most of them cultivated with a better taste. There is indeed hardly any science or art, in which the Bohemians have not to boast of eminent names. But the talent for which this nation is the most distinguished, is that of music. A fondness for music and a natural gift to execute it, is indeed common to all Slavic nations; but whilst their talent is mostly confined to a susceptible ear, and a skill in imitating,—for the Russians and Poles possess some celebrated musical *performers*, though very few distinguished *composers*,—the talent of the Bohemian is of a far higher order. He unites the spirit of harmony which characterizes the Germans, with the sweet gift of melody belonging to the Italians, and thus seems to be the true *ideal* of a complete musician. A great part of the most eminent names among German composers are Bohemians by birth; and there is hardly any thing which strikes the American and English traveller in that beautiful region more, than the generality of a gift so seldom met with in their own countries.

Bohemia, until the sixth century, was inhabited by a Celtic race, the Boii. After them the country was called *Boiohemum*, i. e. home of the Boii; in German still *Böhheim*.¹ The Boii were driven to the south-west by the Markomanns; the

¹ More generally contracted into *Böhmen*.

Markomanns were conquered by the Lombards. After the downfall of the great kingdom of Thuringia, in the middle of the sixth century, Slavic nations pushed forward into Germany, and the *Tchekhes* settled in Bohemia, where an almost deserted country offered them little or no resistance. The *Tchekhes*, a Slavic race, came from Belo-Chrobatia, as the region north of the Carpathian range was then called.² Their name has been usually explained from that of their chief, *Tchekh*; but Dobrovsky more satisfactorily derives it from *četi*, *čjti*, to begin, to be the first; according to him *Tchekhes* signifies much the same as *Front-Slavi*.³ The whole person of *Tchekh* has rather a mythological than a historical foundation. The whole history of this period, indeed, is so intimately interwoven with poetical legends, and mythological traditions, that it seems impossible at the present time to distinguish real facts from poetical ornaments. The hero of the ancient chronicles *Samo*, the just *Krok*, *Libussa* the wise and beautiful, and the husband of her choice, the peasant *Perzmislas*, all move in a circle of poetical fiction. There is, however, no doubt that there is an historical foundation for all these persons; for tradition only expands and embellishes, but rarely, if ever, invents.

What we have said in our introduction, in regard to the vestiges of an early cultivation of the Slavic nations in general, must be applied to the *Tchekhes* particularly.* The courts of justice in which the just *Krok* and his daughter presided, and which the chronicles describe to us, present indeed a wonderful mixture of the sacred forms of a well-organized society, and of that patriarchal relation, which induced the dissenting parties to yield with childlike submission to the arbitrary decisions of the prince's wisdom. According to the chronicles, so early as A. D. 722, *Libussa* kept a *pisak*, or clerk, literally *writer*; and

² The country along the banks of the *Vistula*. According to other writers, *Belo-Chrobatia* was the name of the country on both sides of the Carpathian chain. In some old chronicles the *Tchekhes* are said to have come from *Croatia*, which induced more modern historians to suppose them to have emigrated from the present *Croatia*; others suppose that under this name *Chrobatia* was understood.

³ In his essay *Ueber den Ursprung des Namen Čech*, Prague and Vienna, 1782. In his later works he confirms this opinion; see *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und alten Literatur*, Prague, 1818, p. 65.

* See above, p. 333, 347.

her prophecies were written down in Slavic characters. The same princess is said to have founded Prague. A considerable number of Bohemian poems, some of which have been only recently discovered, are evidently derived from the pagan period. Libussa's choice of the country yeoman Perzmyslas for her husband, in preference to her noble suitors, indicates the early existence of a free and independent peasantry. All these scattered features are however insufficient to give us a distinct picture of this early period ; and here, as among all other Slavic nations, *history* commences only with the introduction of Christianity. The small states originally founded by the Tcheckhes, were first united into one dukedom during the last years of Perzmyslas ; while under his son Nezamysl, in the year 752, they are said to have first distributed the lands in fee, and to have given to the whole community a constitutional form.

The name of Boii, Bohemians, was transferred to the Tcheckhes by the neighbouring nations. They continued to call themselves Tcheckhes, as they do even now. The Moravians, a nearly related Slavic race, who probably came to these regions at the same time with the Tcheckhes, called themselves *Morawčik*,⁴ from *Morawa*, morass, a name frequently repeated

⁴ In writing Russian and Servian names, we have adapted our orthography to the English rules of pronunciation, so far namely as English letters are able to express sounds partly unknown to all but Slavic nations. The Poles and Bohemians however, who use the same characters as the English, have a right to expect that in writing their national names in the English language, their orthography should be preserved ; just as it is in the case of the French, Spaniards, Italians, etc. No English writer would change French or Spanish names according to the English principles of pronunciation. We consequently alter letters only in cases where otherwise a foreigner, unacquainted with the Bohemian language, would find an absolute impossibility of pronouncing them correctly ; following in this the example of most German writers, and of those Bohemian authors who write in German. Thus we put *ř* for the consonant *j*, which the Bohemian uses, with a shade of pronunciation inexpressible by letters, for the vowel *i* ; thus above, *Morawčik* instead of *Morawčjk*, etc. A few words will be sufficient to explain what else may be peculiar in their way of expressing sounds familiar to other nations ; thus *č* is pronounced *tch* ; *š* = *sh* ; *ž* the same sound softer ; *ř* = *r* followed by a soft sibilant ; *c* is in every case pronounced like *ts* ; hence Janocky must be pronounced *Janotsky* ; Rokycana, *Rokytsana* ; Ctibor, *Tstibor*, etc. The vowels *a, e, i, y*, are every where to be pronounced as in *father, they, machine, frisky*.

in Slavic countries. Until A. D. 1029 they were as a people entirely separated from the Bohemians. They had formed different petty states; their chiefs were called *Knjazi*, like those of their eastern brethren. The ancient Moravia however spread far beyond the limits of the present country of this name, and extended deep into Hungary. Hence this portion of the Slavic race was also generally comprised under the name of the Pannonic Slavi. We have shown above, in the history of the Old Slavonic language, that Moravia, then for a short period a powerful kingdom, was the principal theatre of Methodius' exertions. As at this time Christianity had been already introduced into these regions, and the kings Rostislav and Svatapluk, as well as most of their subjects, were already baptized, it is very probable, that they were induced by motives of policy to send to Constantinople for a christian teacher. Oppressed by the Germans, the usurpations of whose emperors were in a certain measure sanctioned by the chair of Rome, they desired to secure for themselves in the Byzantine court a powerful ally. After the dissolution of the Moravian kingdom in A. D. 1029, the present Moravia fell to Bohemia; was separated from it repeatedly in the course of the following centuries; and at length, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, became together with this kingdom an ingredient part of the Austrian states.

The Moravians were among the earliest Slavic tribes converted to Christianity. As early as the seventh century a considerable portion of them were baptized by German priests. It was however not before the first half of the ninth century, that the first christian missionaries entered Bohemia. In the year 845, fourteen Bohemian princes were baptized at Ratisbon. In the year 894 the duke Borzivog, the head of the nation, received baptism; but his successors went back to idolatry, and with them the greatest part of the people. Christianity was not firmly established in these regions before the second half of the tenth century. At this time, the Slavic liturgy introduced by Methodius into Moravia, was already in some measure, by the indefatigable exertions of the Roman-German priesthood, superseded by the Latin worship. Thus it never was established in Bohemia; with the exception of a few churches, attached to convents founded expressly in memory of the Slavic saints, Jerome, Cyril, and Methodius. Their inmates however were expelled in favour of German-Bohemian monks, or they died; and with them disap-

peared every vestige of the innovations of Cyril and Methodius. Hence the Old Slavic language and the noble translation of the Bible extant in it, have exercised only an inconsiderable influence on the Bohemian idiom.⁵

Bohemia, under the sovereignty of her dukes, and from A. D. 1198 under that of kings, was independent of the German empire, or at least did not belong to its circles; it recognized however a kind of sovereignty in that powerful neighbour, and the kings of Bohemia deemed it an honour to belong to the seven Electors, who chose the worldly head of Christianity. In the year 1306, the last male descendant of Perzmisias was murdered. His house had reigned in Bohemia in uninterrupted succession, although the kingdom was properly not hereditary, but elective, like Germany, Hungary and Poland. After a short interval, the crown of Bohemia fell by succession to the house of Luxemburg, and thus became several times united with the Roman imperial crown. Under the emperor Charles IV, Bohemia rose to the summit of its lustre. It was he who founded, A. D. 1348, the university of Prague, the first Slavic institution of that description.⁶ Under his successor, Wenceslaus, the war of the Hussites began. In the year 1457, the Bohemians maintained their right of election by placing George Podiebrad, a Bohemian, on the throne. The wisdom and equity of this individual justified their choice. In A. D. 1527, Ferdinand I, archduke of Austria, was elected king, and from that time the Bohemians have never again been able to detach themselves from Austria; with the exception of a short interval, during which the unfortunate palatine Frederic, known in the history of the thirty years' war, was placed on their throne. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth, centuries, Bohemia was almost without interruption the theatre of bloody wars and contests in behalf of their religious liberties. Then came the awful stillness of death, which reigned for more than an hundred

⁵ On the fate of the Old Slavic liturgy and language in Bohemia, see Dobrovsky's *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache*, etc. pp. 46—64.

⁶ According to the Pole Soltykiewicz, Casimir the Great laid the foundation of the high school of Cracow, as early as A. D. 1347; but it is certain, that this institution was not organized before 1400; whilst the papal privilege granted for the University of Prague is dated A. D. 1347, and the imperial charter in A. D. 1348. Jerome of Prague, one of its most celebrated professors, was invited to Cracow in 1409 to assist in the organization of that institution.

years over this exhausted, agonized country. For its revival and its present comparatively flourishing condition, it is indebted to its own rich natural resources, and to the wiser policy and milder dispositions of the more recent Austrian sovereigns.

The Bohemian language is the common property not only of the Bohemians and the Moravians, constituting together about three and a half millions in number, but also of nearly two millions of Slovaks, those venerable remains of the ancient Slavic settlements between the Carpathian mountains and the rivers Theiss and Danube. This people, so nearly related to the Tchekhes, occupy the whole north-western part of Hungary, and are besides this, scattered over that whole kingdom. They *speak* indeed a dialect or rather several dialects, essentially different from the language spoken in Bohemia and Moravia; but the circumstance of their having, since the Reformation, chosen the Bohemian for their literary language, amalgamates their contributions to literature with those of the Bohemians, and gives them an equal right to the productions of these latter.

Of all the modern Slavic languages, the Bohemian was the first cultivated. Two bishops of Merseburg, Boso towards the middle of the tenth century, and Werner at the close of the eleventh, as also fifty years later another German priest, Bruno, were above all active in promoting the holy cause of Christianity by religious instruction. The application of Latin characters to Slavic words had been long since familiar to the German priesthood; inasmuch as very early attempts had been made to convert the subjugated Slavic tribes, scattered through the north of Germany.

They now were applied to the Bohemian, so far as writing was requisite for religious instruction. According to the old chronicles, there were even some regular schools erected in those early times, one at Budeč, near Prague, and another somewhat later in Prague itself, where Latin was taught. Be this as it may, the Latin and German languages had an early influence on the formation of the Bohemian. Many foreign words were adopted and amalgamated with the language; still more were formed from native roots, after the model of those two idioms. In later times this capacity of the Bohemian has been greatly improved; it being one of the few languages which, in philosophy, theology and jurisprudence, have not borrowed their terminology from the Latins and Greeks, but formed their own technical expressions for ideas received only in part from other nations. The

extraordinary refinement of the Bohemian verb we have mentioned in our characteristic of the Slavic languages in general.* In respect to free and independent construction, it approaches the Latin; by its richness in conjunctions it differs essentially from the Russian, and is able to imitate the Greek in all its lighter shades. Thus it yields neither in copiousness nor in pliability, neither in clearness nor in precision, to any other Slavic language; while in respect to lexical and grammatical cultivation it is superior to all of them. The Bohemian alone of all the Slavic languages, has hitherto succeeded in imitating perfectly the classic metres; although the same degree of capacity for them is acknowledged in the Southern-Slavic dialects.

After so much well deserved praise, we must also mention that in respect to sound, the reproach of harshness and want of euphony has been made with more justice to none of the Slavic tongues. It is true, that all the reasons by which we have above seen the Slavic languages in general defended,† apply with equal weight to the Bohemian in particular. It appears also, that this apparent harshness is more a production of modern times than a necessary ingredient of the original language; for the ancient Bohemian of legends and popular songs, sounds by far more melodious, and the dialects spoken by the Slovaks, which are kindred to the Old Bohemian, are full of vowels, and are even distinguished from the other Slavic tongues by diphthongs. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the accumulation of consonants, in which the Bohemian surpasses by far not the Polish, but the southern and eastern languages, and its peculiar preference of the vowels *e* and *i* over the fuller sounding *a*, *o*, *u*, do not add to the euphony of the language; although it seems singular to bring forward such a reproach against a people so distinguished for their musical talent.

The history of the Bohemian literature may be divided into five periods.

The *first* comprises the whole interval from our first knowledge of the Tchekhes to the influence of Huss; or from A. D. 550 to A. D. 1400.

The *second* period comprises a full century, from Huss to the general diffusion of the art of printing.

The *third* period, the golden age of the Bohemian literature, comprises about the same interval, and extends to the battle at the White Mountain, A. D. 1620.

* See above, p. 339, 340.

† See p. 343.

The *fourth* period, extends from the battle at the White Mountain to the revival of literature in 1774—1780.

The *fifth* period, covers the interval from 1780 to the present time.

FIRST PERIOD.

From the first settlement of the Tchekhes, A. D. 550, to John Huss, A. D. 1400,

Of the language of the Tchekhes as it existed when they first settled in Bohemia, nothing is left, except the names they gave to the rivers, mountains, and towns, and those of their first chiefs. All these names entitle us to conclude, that their language was then essentially the same as at the present time, though more nearly approaching the Old Slavonic. The first *certain* written documents of the language are not older than the introduction of Christianity. There were indeed discovered, about ten years ago, some fragments of poetry, which appear to be derived from the pagan period.⁷ The manuscript has been deposited in the Museum of Prague, and the high beauties and evident antiquity of these poems have secured them warm advocates and admiring commentators. But the circumstance that Dobrovsky doubts of their genuineness, induces us to regard this point at least as not incontestable. Another highly valuable fragment is the celebrated manuscript of Königinhof, discovered in the year 1817 by the librarian Hanka, half buried among rubbish and worthless papers.⁸ This collection, the genuineness of which is not subject to any doubt, contains likewise several poems, the orig-

⁷ First communicated in the periodical *Krok*, Vol. I. Pt. III. p. 48—61. Rokawiecki, Hanka, Čelakowsky, and Schaffarik, maintain their authenticity.

⁸ In a chamber attached to the church of Königinhof or Kralodwor. It was published by Hanka in 1819, with a translation in modern Bohemian and in German, under the title *Rukopis Kralodvorsky* or *Manuscript of Königinhof*. According to Dobrovsky, who formed his judgment from the writing, this remarkable manuscript belongs to the interval from about A. D. 1290 to A. D. 1310. From the numbers of the chapters and books into which it is divided, it appears that the collection comprised three volumes, and that the manuscript thus accidentally rescued from oblivion, is only a small part of the third volume. Goethe honoured it with his peculiar attention and applause. Bowring has given some pleasing specimens of it, in his essay on Bohemian literature in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. II. p. 151—153.

inal composition of which belongs evidently to the eighth or ninth centuries. But the manuscript itself is not older than the end of the thirteenth century, and cannot therefore be considered as a sure monument of the language in an earlier age. All these national songs have an historical foundation; they celebrate battles and victories, and their evident tendency is to exalt the national feelings. They have not that plastic and *objective* character, which makes Homer and the Servian popular epics so remarkable; and from which it appears that the poet, during the time of his inspiration, is rather *above* his subject; but like the Russian tale of Igor's Expedition and the heroic songs of Ossian, the epic beauties are merged in the lyric effusions of the poet's own feelings, who thus never attempts to conceal that his whole soul is engaged in his subject.

The oldest monuments of the christian age are the names of the days, which are of pure Slavic origin. Of the Lord's prayer in Bohemian, on comparing the oldest copy he could find among the ancient manuscripts, Dobrovsky presumes that the form must have been about the same in the ninth or tenth century; although the manuscript itself is somewhat later. A translation of the *Kyrie eleison*, ascribed to Adalbert second bishop of Prague, dates from the same time. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries many convents were founded and schools attached to them; German artists and mechanics and even agriculturists settled in Bohemia. The influence of German customs and habits showed itself more and more, and the nobility began to use in preference the German language. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this influence increased considerably, and exhibited itself most favourably in the lyric poetry of the time, an echo of the German Minnesingers; many of the poets belonging like them to the highest nobility. Of all the Slavic nations, the Bohemian is the only one in which the flower of chivalry has ever unfolded itself; and the cause of its development here is doubtless to be sought in their occidental feudal system, and in their constant intercourse with the Germans. The natural tendency of the Polish nobility to heroic deeds and chivalrous adventures, was counterbalanced partly by the oriental character of their relation to the peasantry, which impressed on them at least as much of the character of the Asiatic satrap, as of the occidental knight; and partly by the want of a free middle class in Poland, as also in Russia. True chivalry indeed does not require simply the contrast of a low, helpless, and sub-

missive class; its lustre never appears brighter than when placed side by side with an independent yeomanry.

In calling the Bohemian lyric poetry of this age the echo of the German, we do not mean to say it was wanting in originality; but wish rather to convey the idea that the same spirit inspired at the time the Bohemians and the Germans, proceeding however from the latter, who themselves received it from the more romantic Provence. Of these heroic love songs very few are left. There are, however, several productions of this period, in which the German influence is not to be recognized at all, but which exhibit purely Slavic national features. We will here enumerate the monuments of the Bohemian language from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have been preserved, before we pass to the fourteenth, which was more productive and exhibited in some measure a new character.

The most remarkable is the above mentioned manuscript of Königinhof. It contains, besides several epic songs partly complete and partly fragmentary, seven or eight charming lyric pieces. The near relationship of the Slavic nations among each other, is exhibited in no feature more strikingly than in their national popular poetry, especially in the little lyric songs, the immediate effusion of their feelings, wishes and cares; whilst epic poetry, which draws her materials from the external world, must hence, in every nation, be in some measure modified by their different fortunes and situations. With the exception of this manuscript and a few scattered love songs and tales, among which is also a piece of prose, a very rare appearance in these early times,⁹ all we have from this early period is of a religious character, viz. a fragment of a history of Christ's passion in rhymes, another of a legend of the twelve apostles, a hymn on the merits of the Bohemian patron saint, Wenceslaus, etc. and finally a complete psalter in Bohemian, and a whole series of hymns, or rather rhymed formularies, corresponding to those sung in the catholic church, i. e. a *Te Deum*, an office for the dead, a prayer for the intercession of all saints, etc. The first historians of Bohemia, Cosmas and Vincentius, born towards the middle of the eleventh century, wrote both of them in Latin. The chronicle of the first is still extant.

⁹ "Complaint of a lover on the banks of the Moldaw." The manuscript fell accidentally into the hands of the Polish scholar Linde, who knew how to appreciate its value. See Dobrovsky's *Geschichte der böhm. Spr.* p. 109.

During the fourteenth century the German influence increased so much, that the jealousy and impatience of a great part of the nation was powerfully excited. The king kept a German body guard; German fashions in dress and manners prevailed at the court; and even in the year 1341, when the privileges of the city of Prague were first solemnly committed to writing, it was done in the German language. Under the reign of Charles I, or the emperor Charles IV, for he united the two crowns on his head, Bohemia, as we have said, reached the highest point of its splendour. He wisely limited the privileges of the Germans in his own kingdom, and reconciled the minds of the Bohemians by granting to them similar privileges in the German empire. He honoured the Bohemian language so much, as to recommend expressly, in the golden bull, to the sons of the Electors to learn it. His capital, Prague, was like the apple of his eye, and he did all he could to add to its embellishments and magnificence. Here he founded in the year 1348 the first Slavic university, on the plan of those of Paris and Bologna. The influence of this institution, not merely on Bohemia, but on Germany and indeed all Europe, was decided. From the time of its foundation until 1410, it was the general resort for students from among the Poles, Hungarians, Swedes and Germans. It was doubtless the wish to give it this very kind of universality, which induced Charles IV, in the statutes of the institution, to allow to the Bohemians only one suffrage in the senate, and the three others to foreigners. We shall shew in the sequel with what jealousy this apparent preference was received by the natives, and what a violent reaction it caused in the Bohemian national feelings.

Experience every where teaches, that schools and academies never enkindle the spark of genuine poetry; nay, that the erection of formal scientific institutions is even not favourable to the free developement of that high gift. In Bohemia too, the fourteenth century was indeed very productive in rhymed works; but most of them were utterly deficient in real poetry. On the other hand, as the natural result of a more strictly logical and clearer mode of thinking, by reason of a scientific education, the style of the prose writings became more cultivated, concise, and distinct; and the direction of mind more general and universal. We find in this period several historical works, viz. (1) A chronicle in Bohemian rhymes, extending as far as to 1313, written under king John, the father of Charles IV, when the in-

fluence of the German had reached its highest point. A glowing hatred against that nation dictated this work and made it for more than two hundred years the favourite book of the Bohemian people. The name of the author is not ascertained, although it has been usually ascribed to the canon Dalimil Mezericky.¹⁰ (2) Another Bohemian chronicle, written by order of Charles IV in Latin, but translated into Bohemian by Přibík Pulkawa. It was first published by Prochazka in the year 1786; the Latin original in 1794. (3) Martimiani or the Roman chronicle, translated A. D. 1400 from the German, by Beneš of Horowic. (4) Another chronicle of the Roman emperors, translated from the Latin by Laurentius of Brezow, the writer of several other works, partly printed in the course of the following centuries. There were also several collections of laws; among others the oldest Bohemian statutes, by A. of Duba, a valuable manuscript, preserved in the imperial library of Vienna; the common and the feudal law, translated from the Latin and kept in the library of Prague; the celebrated *Sachsenspiegel* or laws of Magdeburg, etc. The constant intercourse with foreigners directed the attention of the Bohemians early to the utility of acquiring other languages, and made the possession of their own valuable to foreigners. We find, consequently, not less than seven dictionaries, or vocabularies, as they were called, compiled in the course of this century; one of which, the so called *Bohemarius* of A. D. 1309, is even written in hexameters. As all these vocabularies are incomplete, and better ones, founded partly upon them, have been since compiled, they have never, so far as we know, been printed; but are extant in several copies, and are preserved in the libraries of Prague, Brünn, and several churches.

Poetry, during this century, took also in Bohemia the same course as in Germany, and degenerated into loose works of fiction between prose and verse, mostly allegorical compositions, and the basis of the modern novel. Such are Tristram, in 9000 verses, a translation from the German; the life of Alexander and the history of Troy from the Latin, both of them more

¹⁰ It was first published by Jeřín, A. D. 1620; later by Prochazka, Prague 1786. The author did not spurn any means to reach his patriotic object, viz. to inspire his nation with hatred against the Germans. The most absurd fables came through him into the early history of Bohemia.

novel than history ; and a great number of similar works.¹¹ All other poetical productions of this century may be divided into fables, satires, and legends, or other allegorical pieces of an ecclesiastic-didactic tendency, as may be seen even from their titles ; e. g. the nine joys of Mary, the ten commandments, the five sources of sin, etc. All are equally deficient in poetical merit.

With what thoughts the minds of reflecting men and of the reading class were at this time chiefly occupied, and how well they were prepared to receive, in the beginning of the following century, the doctrines of Huss, Jerome, and Jacobellus, those teachers of a purer system of divinity, is manifested in some measure in the theological literature of the day. A treatise upon the great distress of the church, written by a clergyman called John Milič¹² before 1370 ; several others on the principal christian virtues ; a book of christian instruction written by Štítný, a Bohemian nobleman, for his own children ; a translation of the Jewish Rabbi Samuel's book on the coming of the Messiah ; and several similar works,—all these seem to indicate that the religious system of the day was no longer able to satisfy reflecting minds. We find also that the greatest part of the Bible was already extant in the Bohemian language in the second half of the fourteenth century ;¹³ although not yet collected to-

¹¹ The history of Troy was one of the first works which issued from the Bohemian press, about A. D. 1476 according to Dobrovsky, and again A. D. 1488, and 1603. It was published for the fourth and last time by Kramerius in 1790 ; see note 21, below. Even before it was printed, it appears to have been multiplied in a great many copies, as being a favourite book among the Bohemian knights and damsels. Its author was Guido di Colonna. See Dobrovsky's *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache*, etc. p. 155. Another remarkable production of the fourteenth century is *Tkadleček*, the little weaver, the manuscript of which is extant in several copies, but which has been printed only in an ancient German translation ; see Dobrovsky, *ibid.* p. 157.

¹² This work was printed in 1542 ; it was put into the renowned *Index librorum prohibitorum*, first printed in 1629, and last in 1767, the original author of which was the famous Jesuit Koniaš, one of the most violent book-destroyers who ever lived. Not only all books written by the Hussites or their immediate predecessors, but even many catholic writers also, of that period, were put upon this list ; e. g. the historian Hagek, translations of Aeneas Sylvius, etc.

¹³ Ann, queen of England, sister to king Wenceslaus of Bohemia,

gether. Several translations of the psalter from this period; also of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel; and the Sunday lessons from the gospels; are preserved in manuscript in the libraries of Prague, Vienna, and Oels in Silesia. Many others have doubtless perished in the lapse of time.

SECOND PERIOD.

From Huss, A. D. 1400, to the general diffusion of the art of printing, about A. D. 1500.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the university of Prague was in the zenith of its splendour. Several celebrated German scholars occupied the professors' chairs, and the average number of students was twenty thousand. No department of science was neglected; each faculty had its distinguished teachers; but it was theology which excited decidedly the warmest national interest among the Bohemians themselves; it was theology in which the Bohemians maintained the first rank as teachers. The interest in spiritual things was no longer confined, as in former times, to those who intended to devote themselves to the clerical profession; it pervaded all classes, high and low. Immediately after Wickliffe's death, an intercourse had been opened between England and Bohemia by the marriage of a Bohemian princess, Ann, sister of king Wenceslaus, to Richard II of England. A young Bohemian nobleman, who had finished his studies in Prague, repaired to Oxford, imbibed the sentiments and opinions of Wickliffe, and on his return, put a copy of all Wickliffe's writings into the hands of John Huss, at that time one of the professors of theology at Prague, whose mind was probably already prepared for them, and who began to study them with great zeal and devotion. Indeed, the pretensions of the chair of Rome and the corruption of the clergy, had been for some time since looked upon in Bohemia with private disgust and open disapprobation; and when the professors Huss, Jerome, and Jacobellus, began to declaim against monks, auricular confession, and the infallibility of the pope, they found a responding echo in the breasts of their hearers; and all that was novel in their doctrines, was the boldness with which they

possessed a Bible in Latin, German and Bohemian; to which circumstance Wickliffe alluded in one of his writings, quoted by Huss in his reply to Stokes, Tom. I. p. 108. See Dobrovsky's *Gesch. der böhm. Sprache*, p. 142.

were pronounced, and the logical consistency with which they were justified.

Another difference of opinion, which tended greatly to augment the excitement then reigning at the university, was the contest between the two philosophical schools, viz. that of the Realists, who were defended by Huss, and the Nominalists, to which nearly all the Germans adhered. This contest became very soon a national affair; or more probably had its principal origin in the unjust privileges of the Germans and the jealousy of the Bohemians. The preference given to the former at the foundation of the university, viz. the possession of three out of the four suffrages in all matters determined by vote, became anew the subject of debate, and was more especially assailed by Huss, then rector of the university. After a whole year of resistance, the king at length yielded. A decree of A. D. 1409 ordained, that in future the proportion should be reversed, so that the Germans should possess only one suffrage, and the Bohemians three. For this victory of their national pride, the university, the city, nay the whole country, had to suffer severely. Immediately after this decision, the famous literary emigration took place. All the German professors and students left Prague at once. The immediate consequences of this step were, the foundation of the universities of Leipzig, Rostock, and Ingolstadt, and the building up of those of Heidelberg, Erfurt, and Cracow. Prague never again became what it had been; although it obtained a transient lustre through the victory itself, and the eminence and martyrdom of some of its national teachers. Before we proceed, we must devote a few words to the personal merits and fortunes of these latter.

John Huss was born A. D. 1373 at Hussinecz, a village in the southern part of Bohemia; from which he sometimes took the name of Huss of Hussinecz, or John of Hussinecz. Although without property himself, he was enabled, at the age of sixteen years, by the pecuniary assistance of the proprietor of his native village and some other patrons, to prosecute his studies at the university of Prague, where he distinguished himself by his diligence and abilities. In the year 1396 he was made master of arts, and two years later began to lecture on philosophical and theological subjects. In A. D. 1402 he was appointed curate and preacher to the chapel of Bethlehem at Prague, the duties of which office he united with his professorship. In the same year the queen Sophia chose him for her confessor. He thus

at once acquired an influence over the people, the students, and at court. It was about this time that he became acquainted with the writings of Wickliffe. In the year 1407 he began publicly to oppose and preach against the errors in doctrine and the corruption then reigning in the church. The archbishop of Prague, Zbzynek, an illiterate and violent man, whose ignorance had made him the laughing stock of the students, by whom he was called the Alphabetarius or A. B. C. doctor, collected two hundred manuscripts of Wickliffe's writings, and, without any further authority from the pope than his previous condemnation of them, committed them to the flames in the archiepiscopal palace. Huss, both in his lectures and sermons, not only blamed this act in strong terms, but translated the *Trilogus* and several other of Wickliffe's works into Bohemian, distributed them among laymen and females, and caused new Latin copies to be made. When the archbishop interdicted his preaching in the Bohemian language, Huss not only refused to obey, but continued to spread by all legal means those doctrines of Wickliffe which he approved. At the same time the first translation of the whole Bible—whether a collection of the parts already extant, or a new version, we are not informed—appeared, and was distributed in multiplied copies among the public. It does not appear whether this translation was prepared by Huss; but it is certain that he did what he could to promote its circulation. On such proceedings the catholic clergy could not look with tranquillity. Twice he was called to Rome; twice he disobeyed, and at length appealed to a general council. In consequence of his doctrines, and of some tumultuous scenes among his followers, the excess of which he himself highly disapproved, he was by a decree of pope John XXIII solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. Deeming himself no longer safe at Prague under the weak king, he retired to the territory of his friend and patron, Nicholas of Hussinecz, where he prepared new works, some of which are among his most powerful ones, and preached repeatedly in the open fields before an innumerable audience. Those of his works which caused the greatest sensation, were his treatise 'On the Church' and a pamphlet entitled 'The six Errors;' both of which he caused to be fixed on the walls and gates of the chapel of Bethlehem. Both were directed against indulgences, against the abuse of excommunication, simony, transubstantiation, etc. and above all against the unlimited obedience required by the see of Rome; maintaining

that the Scriptures presented the only rule of faith and conduct for the Christian.

In consequence of this conviction, the correction and distribution of the Bohemian Bible was his constant care. In all his Bohemian writings he paid an uncommon attention to the language, and exerted a decided and lasting influence on it. The old Bohemian alphabet, which consisted of forty-two letters, he arranged anew, and first settled the Bohemian orthography according to fixed principles.¹⁴ In order to render it more interesting and impressive to learners, he imitated Cyril's ingenious mode of giving to each letter the name of some well known Bohemian word, which had the same initial letter, e. g. H, *hospodin*, lord; K, *kral*, king, etc. Thus he devoted his whole life to the different means of enlightening his countrymen, and justly considered a general cultivation of the mind as the best preparation for receiving the truth.

Among the coadjutors of Huss, the most distinguished was Hieronymus von Faulfisch, more generally known under the name of Jerome of Prague; who was, like Huss, professor in the university. In erudition and eloquence he surpassed his friend; accorded with him in his doctrinal views; but did not possess the mild disposition, the moderation of conduct, for which Huss was distinguished. His hatred against the abuses of the catholic church was so violent, that he used to trample under his feet the relics regarded as holy by that church. He is even said to have once ordered a monk who resisted him, to be thrown into the river. He was so great an admirer of Wickliffe, several of whose writings he translated into Bohemian, that even when preaching before the emperor at Buda, he could not

¹⁴ The Bohemians, like the Germans, adopted the Latin alphabet; but the former, receiving it from the Germans, adopted it in the corrupted form of these latter, viz. they imitated the so-called Gothic characters, in which also all ancient Bohemian books are printed. In modern times the genuine Roman letters have nearly supplanted them; to which several different signs are added to adapt them to the Slavic sounds. The Bohemian alphabet can only be said to have forty-two letters, in so far as the same letter with or without a sign, e. g. *s* and *š*, can be considered as two different letters. The English alphabet would be almost without number, if all the three or four modes of pronunciation connected with one and the same letter in that language, were indicated by certain signs, and these signs made three or four letters out of one.

but interweave that reformer's doctrines in his sermon ; an imprudence which caused him to be arrested immediately afterwards at Vienna. He obtained his liberty in consequence of the solicitation of the university of Prague. He wrote several works in the Bohemian language, for the instruction of the people, hymns, pamphlets, etc. His reputation for erudition and extraordinary powers rests however more on the testimony of his cotemporaries, than on his works, of which very few remain.

Another active assistant of Huss, especially in his improvement and distribution of the Bohemian Bible, was Jacobellus of Mies, known under the name Jacobellus of the [sacramental] Cup, on account of his zeal for the general introduction of the communion in both forms. He wrote commentaries on some of the epistles, sermons, religious hymns, etc. He too was a professor in the university of Prague.

In the year 1414, Huss was summoned to appear before the council of Constance, to exculpate himself before the united theologians of all the christian nations of Europe. Without the least reluctance, and rather with rejoicing at the opportunity of justifying himself from the extravagant charges brought against him by his enemies, and of demonstrating publicly the truth of his doctrines, he obeyed this call. Provided with a safe conduct by the emperor Sigismund, and accompanied moreover by several Bohemian noblemen at the express order of king Wenceslaus, he undertook the journey without fear for his personal safety, and arrived on the fourth of November at Constance. Here, before he was permitted to appear in the presence of the general council, he had to undergo several private audiences before a few cardinals ; at one of which, about three weeks after his arrival, he was arrested, cast into prison, and without being tried or even heard, kept more than *six months*. When the news of this treachery reached Bohemia, it was felt by the whole people as a national insult. Three petitions signed by nearly the whole body of the nobility, were in the course of time successively tendered to the council ; and as the two first were without avail, the third was accompanied by one to the emperor, in which he was reminded of his broken word, in terms so strong, —he having pledged his imperial honour for the safety of Huss, —that at length the 5th of June was fixed for a public hearing. Here however every attempt of Huss, not merely to justify himself, but even to speak, was frustrated by the most indecent and tumultuous clamour of the assembled clergy, who loaded him

with invectives and reproaches. In the two following audiences he was indeed allowed a hearing, at the special demand of the emperor, who had been disgusted and offended by the indecent behaviour of the council. Huss was now permitted to justify himself at large upon all the forty articles brought against him, most of them founded on his writings by the frequent aid of the most unfair deduction; but although he exculpated himself completely from some of the charges, yet he himself acknowledged so many others, that the council could only be confirmed in its previous determination to condemn him as an obstinate heretic. A month was allowed him, to give in his final answer. During this time cardinals and bishops tried their eloquence to persuade him to recant; especially at the instigation of the emperor, who wished to save his life on account of his own pledged honour. But all these efforts could not move the faith nor firmness of this pious and heroic man; and on the sixth of July, A. D. 1415, he was unanimously condemned, ignominiously degraded from the office of a priest, and burned alive the same day. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine.¹⁵

His friend Jerome of Prague, on hearing of his dangerous situation, hurried to Constance, to assist and support him, without even waiting for a safe conduct from the emperor or council. In the vicinity of Constance he stopped, and tried all possible means to obtain some assurance for his personal safety. Not succeeding in this, he felt himself compelled by prudence to return, although slowly and reluctantly, to Bohemia. But on the road, in consequence of a dispute in which he became engaged with some bigoted priests, he was arrested by the duke of Salzburg and sent to Constance, where the same scenes were repeated before the council, as in the case of Huss. At his first ap-

¹⁵ The Bohemian writings of Huss are partly extant in manuscript, partly in single printed pamphlets, but have never been collected. They consist in sermons, hymns, letters to his friends, postillas and other interpretations of the Scriptures, etc. His complete Latin works were first printed in Wittenberg 1558, and repeatedly afterwards. They contain many pieces which were originally written in Bohemian; as were also the letters, which Luther caused to be printed with a preface of his own, Wittenberg 1536. Luther translated several of his hymns. The letters written by Huss from the prison at Constance, are the expressions of a pure and elevated mind, and present the best evidence of his spotless christian character. Some of them might serve as beautiful specimens of the sublime.

pearance, a thousand voices exclaimed : Away with him ! burn him, burn him ! It is most melancholy to read in the reports of the time, that even this strong and pious man could have been terrified into temporary submission ; not by the prospect of death, which he met gladly, but by the horrors of a lonely and protracted imprisonment in a noxious dungeon. But his fortitude did not long abandon him ; tortured by his own conscience, he solemnly announced at the next audience his recantation ; and declared that of all the sins he had committed, he repented of none more than his apostasy from the doctrines he had maintained. In consequence of this he was subjected to the same condemnation as his illustrious friend ; and met his painful death with the same magnanimity and resignation. He was burnt the 30th of May, 1416.

The behaviour of both these eminent men ; the christian mildness with which they bore the infamous treatment of their enemies ; the generosity with which they forgave their persecutors ; the patience, nay cheerfulness of Huss, when during his imprisonment severe bodily sufferings united with the persecutions of his adversaries to make his life a heavy burthen ; the magnanimity and fortitude with which both of them submitted to their final fate, and maintained the truth of their religious opinions until the very moment of an excruciating death, praising the Lord with soul and voice,—all this presents one of the most affecting and at the same time elevating pictures which the history of martyrs has to exhibit. The eloquence of Jerome made a powerful impression on his enemies ; and there were some moments during his trial, when even his judges wished to save his life. The celebrated Poggio Bracciolini, one of the revivers of Italian literature, happened to be present at the trial and execution of Jerome ; and although not agreeing with him, or rather being indifferent in point of religion, the eloquence, magnanimity and amiable deportment of the unfortunate martyr, excited his sympathy and admiration in an uncommon degree. This is manifested in his letters to Leonardo Aretius ; who in his reply found it advisable to warn his friend, not to show too much warmth in this matter.¹⁶

The instigators of these cruel acts, when they kindled the fag-

¹⁶ These interesting letters, containing all the circumstances of Jerome's last days and death, his eloquent speeches before the council, and a full account of the despicable conduct of his accusers, may be found at large in *Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini*.

gots by which these two martyrs died, did not anticipate that the fire they had lighted, would spread over a whole country, and carry horror and devastation through the half of Germany. The war by which the disciples of Huss avenged him, was one of the most bloody and destructive known in history. The news of his death, when it reached Bohemia, touched the heart of every individual like an electric spark. But this is not our province. Keeping only our own object, the fate of the language and literature in view, we must refer the reader to the historical accounts of this distressing period, and limit ourselves to the mention of only those events which had an immediate influence on these two topics.

Under the guidance of Nicholas of Hussinecz, the friend and patron of Huss, in whom even his enemies acknowledged more a defender of the reformers, than a persecutor of the catholics; of Žižka of Trocznow, a Bohemian knight of great valour but disgraced by cruelty; and, after the death of these two, under Procopius, formerly a clergyman; the Hussites carried their victorious arms throughout all Bohemia, into Silesia, Franconia, Austria, and Saxony, and made these unhappy countries the theatre of the most cruel devastations. If, divided into several parties, as they were, they were thus powerful, they would have been twice as strong, had they been united in the true spirit of Huss. But even as early as A. D. 1421 dissensions arose among them; and they finally split into several sects and parties, who mutually hated each other even more than they did the catholics. Among these the Calixtins or Utraquists, whose principal object was to obtain the sacrament in both forms; and the Taborites, who insisted on a complete reform of the church, were the two principal. The Calixtins comprehended the more moderate of the nobility and the wealthy citizens of Prague; between them and the catholics a compact was concluded at Basle, in A. D. 1434, by which a conditional religious liberty was granted to them, and they acknowledged the emperor Sigismund as their sovereign; the weak king Wenceslaus having died in 1419. The Taborites were unable to resist any longer the united power of both parties. They partly dispersed; the rest united in the year 1457, in separate communities, and called themselves United Brethren. Under the severest trials of oppression and persecution, the number of these congregations, the form of which was modelled after the primitive apostolic churches, rose in less than fifty years to two hundred. In the middle of the sixteenth century,

numerous emigrations to Prussia and Poland took place, where a free toleration was secured to them. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, their communities in Bohemia were finally dissolved. From the remnant of these persecuted Christians, who were called by the Germans, Bohemian or Moravian Brethren, has sprung the present community of United Brethren, often called in English, Moravians, which was founded at Hernhut in 1722, at first under the protection and ultimately under the patronage and direction of count Zinzendorf.

The consequences of the barbarous measures of the council of Constance became immediately visible. Even the common people began to shew an intense interest, in the numberless theological pamphlets which were published in Bohemia and Moravia for or against Huss. Among the former, one written by a female deserves to be distinguished. The copies of the Bohemian Bible became greatly multiplied; many of them were made by females; and Aeneas Sylvius takes occasion to praise the biblical erudition of the women of the Taborites, whilst the abbot Stephen of Dolan in Moravia, complains of their meddling in ecclesiastical affairs. In the revision of the text of the Scriptures, the clergy were indefatigable. From 1410 to 1486, when the Bible was first printed, at least four recensions of the whole Bible can be distinguished, and several more of the New Testament. The different parties of the Hussites were united in a warm partiality for their own language; the Taborites began as early as 1423 to hold their service in Bohemian. After the compact of 1434 the Calixtins also attempted to introduce the mass in their own language, an innovation which caused new disturbances and contests. Meanwhile the language of the country assumed gradually even among the catholics its natural rights; the privileges of the city of Prague, the laws of the painters' guild, the statutes of the miners, were translated into Bohemian. At the session of the Estates in Moravia in 1480, the Latin was exchanged for the Bohemian; in Bohemia itself not before 1495. The knowledge of the Bohemian language, which Albert duke of Bavaria had acquired at the court of king Wenceslaus, where he was educated, had a decided influence on the Bohemian Estates, when in 1441 they offered him their crown. Under George Podiebrad, a Bohemian by birth, this language even became that of the court. After the death of George, one of the reasons which led to the election of Vladislaus king of Poland, was, that the Bohemians "could hope to see elevated through

him the glory of the Bohemian nation and of the Slavic language."¹⁶ Under this king all ordinances and decrees were issued in the Bohemian language, which gained prodigiously in pliancy and extent by the application of it to different uses. The most favourable influence on its formation, however, was effected towards the close of the fifteenth century, by the custom which began to prevail, of studying the classics and of translating them with all the fidelity of which the idiom was capable. Thus fostered by judicious application and patriotic feeling, the Bohemian language approached with rapid steps the period of its *golden age*,—a time indeed, in a political respect, of oppression, war, and devastation; but affording a gratifying proof, how powerfully moral means may counteract physical causes.

At the head of the theological literature of this period may be named the *Life of Huss*, written by P. Mladienowic. Although, strictly speaking, not a theological book, yet this character was in some measure impressed upon it by the custom which prevailed for a time, of causing it to be read aloud in the churches, in order to communicate to the people all the circumstances of the martyr's death. Mladienowic, acting as a notary at Constance, had been an eye-witness of the whole transaction. Among the catholic theological writers of the day, Hilarius Litomiericky, d. 1467, Rosenberg bishop of Breslau, Simon of Tišnow, and others, wrote against the practice of communion in both forms. But they were inferior to their adversaries in talent, and still more in productiveness. Rokycana, archbishop of the Calixtins, d. 1471, Koranda, Miroš, and others, defended their right to the sacramental cup, and exerted their pens in doctrinal controversies with the other sects. The Bohemian Brethren, Paleček, Procopius, Simon, Mirinsky and others, wrote interpretations of portions of the Scriptures, polemical pamphlets, religious hymns, apologies, etc. partly printed, partly preserved in manuscript. In the contests of the different parties, the use of weapons of every description was regarded as lawful; and among them, satire and irony were employed with much skill and dexterity by the Hussites.¹⁷ Uric of Kalenic wrote a satirical

* See Dobrovsky's *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache* etc. p. 201.

¹⁷ In a polemic satirical pamphlet the question was started: "Master, tell me what birds are the best, those which eat and drink, or those which eat and do not drink? and why are those which eat but do not drink, enemies to those which eat and drink?" A Latin pamphlet

letter from Lucifer to Lew of Rožmítal. Bohuslav of Čechie partly wrote and partly compiled the work: "Mirror of all Christendom," with many remarkable illustrations.¹⁸ The Bohemian brother Chelcicky, d. 1484, called also the Bohemian doctor, because he did not understand Latin, and of course neither Greek nor Hebrew, undertook nevertheless, besides several other works, to write an interpretation of the Sunday Lessons of the Gospels. His most popular book, called *Kopyta*, i. e. "The Shoe-last," (being himself a shoemaker by trade,) which was much read by the common people, is no longer extant. A pamphlet of Martin Lupač, d. 1468, called "The Sprinkling-brush," was likewise in the hands of every body. This clergyman, however, acquired better claims on the gratitude of his contemporaries, by a careful revision of the New Testament, which he undertook with the aid of several learned friends. Indeed, both among clergymen and laymen, there was an ardent desire for the right understanding of the Scriptures; which induced many individuals, who were not satisfied with the existing Bohemian translations, to undertake the task themselves anew.

Out of this period alone the manuscripts of thirty-three copies of the whole Bible, and twenty-two of the New Testament, are still extant; partly copied from each other, partly translated anew; all however having been made from the Vulgate. The Bohemian versions made from the original languages belong to the following period.¹⁹

Although religion filled the minds of the learned during this period more than in any other, it did not absorb their interest so entirely as to occupy them exclusively. It could not, however,

which decided for those which do not drink, was followed by a Bohemian refutation.

¹⁸ This manuscript, one of the most remarkable of the age, is in the library of Jena. It has not less than eighty-eight pictures, partly on paper, partly on parchment; and besides this forty-one smaller figures, scattered through the text itself. See Dobrovsky's *Reise nach Schweden*, p. 7; also his *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache*, p. 235.

¹⁹ By whole Bibles are here intended also those manuscripts, of which, although in their present state incomplete, it is presumed that the missing parts were lost accidentally. The New Testaments also are not all of them perfect. Of single biblical books, manuscripts of the Psalms are found the most frequently. See Dobrovsky's *Lit. Magazin für Böhmen. Reise nach Schweden*, etc. p. 57. *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache*, p. 211.

be expected, that in the midst of such struggles, both political and religious, the minds of men could elevate themselves so far above their circumstances, as to look at any science or art in the light of its independent value. Poetry at least, with a few exceptions, was only regarded as the handmaid of religion. We find many books of legends, biographies of the fathers and saints, both prose and rhyme, written partly by catholic, partly by Hussite writers. The doctrines of Huss did not, like those of Luther a century later, shake the belief in saints. Dobrovsky mentions a very ancient printed work of 1480, in which the letters of Huss, his life by Mladienowic, and the letter of Poggio on the execution of Jerome, are annexed to a *Passional*, as such collections of the lives and sufferings of the saints are called. There is also an abundance of Taboritic war songs; many of them replete with life and fire. These appear to have been partly founded on ancient Bohemian popular songs; for there are passages in them which are also to be found in the old chronicles. Altered to suit the present circumstances, their effect must have been the more powerful by association. This period was also rich in religious hymns; most of them translated from the Bible as literally as the rhyme would permit. But no form of poetry was more used, and none operated more strongly on the minds of the people, than the satirical ballads, with which the streets and alleys every where resounded. All these productions are only remarkable, as characteristic memorials of the age. Hynek of Podiebrad, fourth son of king George, who was born A. D. 1452, a highly accomplished and amiable man, is named as one of the most distinguished among the Bohemian poets of the age.

Politics too united with religion. Stibor of Cimburg, a patriotic and distinguished nobleman, wrote in 1467 an ingenious work in the form of a novel, "On the goods of the Clergy;" Walecowsky wrote on the vices and hypocrisy of the clergy; and Zidek, in 1471, instructions on government. All these books were dedicated to king George, and the latter work was even written at his instigation. Hagek of Hodielin and Wlček, between 1413 and 1457, wrote strategetical works. Marco Polo's description of the East, and Mandeville's Travels, were translated from the Latin. Kabatnik, J. Lobkowic, and Bakalař, wrote descriptions of Palestine between 1490 and 1500; the two first in books of travels. Mezyhor wrote a journal of the travels of Lew of Rožmital, whom he accompanied as jester through Europe and a part of Asia. Collections of statutes, of the decrees of diets, of

judicial decisions, and of other documents, were made by patriotic and sometimes eminent men; and those merely extant in Latin carefully translated into Bohemian.³⁰ Thus they gathered materials for future historians, although in their own day the field of history was but poorly cultivated, or at least with no more than common ability; for as to quantity, there is no want. Procopius, following out the example of Dalimil, wrote a new rhymed chronicle; Bartoš of Drahenic wrote a chronicle extending from 1419 to 1443, in barbarous Latin, to which he added some notes in Bohemian. Several other chronicles, the authors of which are not known, serve as continuations of those of the preceding century, which were devoted to the affairs of their own country. The above mentioned Zidek, on the other hand, undertook to write a universal history, after the division of time, then customary, into six ages. This book forms the third part of his great work, "Instructions on Government," to which we above alluded. In this work the author seizes every opportunity to lecture to the king, to give him advice, and to rebuke him. According to Dobrovsky, his boldness not unfrequently degenerates into coarseness and insolence. It is an amusing reproach which among others he brings against the king, that he had not one camel, whilst Job had six thousand. The same individual wrote also a large work in Latin, a kind of Encyclopædia, the manuscript of which is in the library of the University of Cracow.

We finish the history of this period with a short account of the state of medicine and natural science in Bohemia. It is true, that the greater part of the learned men who wrote on these subjects, preferred the use of the Latin language. But many of them were in the habit of making at least Bohemian extracts or abridgements of their most popular works, or sometimes had the whole of them translated by their pupils. Among the medical writers of this time, Christian Prachatitzky a clergyman, John Černý and Claudian Bohemian brethren, Albik and Gallus, must be mentioned; the two latter wrote only in Latin.

This section of the Bohemian literature is particularly rich in herbals. Several works of instruction in botany were also writ-

³⁰ Vict. Corn. of Wšehrd composed in 1495 a work in nine books, "On the Statutes, Courts of justice, and Legislature (Landtafel) of Bohemia," which is the most celebrated among several similar works of this period, and was in its time indispensable to the Bohemian lawyer. The same learned individual translated Cyprian, Chrysostom, etc. See Dobrovsky's *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache*, etc.

ten. A manuscript of 1447, "On the inoculation of Trees," may be mentioned here, although belonging rather to the department of agriculture.

The Bohemian language, although improving and evidently rising in esteem with every lustrum of the fifteenth century, had however not yet supplanted the Latin. Many of the most eminent among the learned of this period preferred still to write in Latin; as Hieronymus Balbus, Bohuslav, Hassenstein of Lobkovic, šlechtá, Olomucius, and a number of others, who all contributed nevertheless to elevate the glory of the Bohemian name, and could not but exert a powerful influence on the nation.

In respect to the date of the introduction of printing into Bohemia, the first regular printing establishment at Prague, is not older than A. D. 1487. Several Bohemian books, however, were printed before this time by travelling artizans. In regard to the first work printed in the Bohemian language, historians are not entirely agreed. According to Jungmann,²¹ a letter from Huss to Jakaubeck, of 1459, was the first specimen of Bohemian printing; the above-mentioned chronicle of Troy of 1468 the second; and the New Testament of 1475 the third. According to Dobrovsky, the New Testament of 1475 is the earliest printed work in Bohemian. From that year to 1488, only seven Bohemian works appear to have been issued from the press, among which was a Psalter and another New Testament. In 1488, after the foundation of a regular printing office, the whole Bohemian Bible was printed for the first time; in the same year the History of Troy again, and the Roman chronicle; and in the following year the first Bohemian almanac, and the Bible of Kuttenberg. The subsequent editions belong, as to time, to the following period; but are given in the note below.²²

²¹ See his *Historie literatury česke*, etc. Prague 1825, p. 49, 68. Schaffarik agrees with him. Pelzel presumed that the letter of Huss, of 1459, was printed in some foreign country by a travelling Bohemian.

²² Other Bohemian Bibles are: Venice 1506, fol. Prague 1527, fol. ib. 1537, fol. Nürnberg 1540, fol. Prague 1549, fol. ib. 1556—57. ib. 1561 fol. the same edition with a new title. ib. 1570, fol. Kralic 1579—98, 6 vols. sm. fol. prepared by the United Brethren, the first from the original languages. Without place, 1596, 8vo. by the same. Without place 1613, fol. by the same. Prague 1613, fol. for the Utraquists. Prague N. Test. 1677. Old. Test. 1712—15, 3 vols. fol. for catho-

THIRD PERIOD.

Golden age of the Bohemian Literature. From the diffusion of printing, about A. D. 1500, to the battle at the White Mountain, A. D. 1620.

It is chiefly for the sake of clearness and convenience, that writers on the literary history of Bohemia separate this period from the former; in its character and its genius it was entirely the same. What the Bohemians had *acquired* in the one, they *possessed* in the other; what they had only aimed at in the former, they reached in the latter; what had been the property of a few, was now augmented by an abundant harvest in their diligent hands, and enriched a multitude. But the objects, the stamp, the character, of both centuries were essentially the same. Literary cultivation, which during the sixteenth century was everywhere else monopolized by the clergy and a few distinguished individuals, was in Bohemia the common property of the people, who for the most part embraced the evangelical doctrines in their manifold, though but little differing shades. But although religion was to them the object of chief interest, it was yet far from occupying their minds exclusively. And this is the point, in which the history of the Bohemian reformation materially differs from that of the other protestant nations or sects. In other countries, reformers have usually been led by circumstances to shew themselves decidedly opposed to the cultivation of elegant literature and the fine arts; they have destroyed or banished pictures, music, statuary, and every thing which they could in any way regard as worldly temptations to allure men from the only source of truth and knowledge; nay, the more rigid and zealous have sometimes gone so far as to look at the severe sciences themselves only in the light of handmaids to religion, and to deem a devotion to them without such reference as sinful worldliness. Of such fanaticism, we do not find a trace in the fathers of the Bohemian reformation, who were themselves men of high intellectual cultivation; and even their most zealous followers kept themselves nearly free from it. If, as we have seen in the pre-

lica. Halle 1722, 8vo. for protestants. Halle 1745, 8vo. for the same. Halle 1766, 8vo. for the same. Prague 1769—71, 3 vols. fol. for catholics. Prague 1778—80, 2 vols. 8vo. for catholics. Pressburg 1786—87, 8vo. for protestants. Prague 1804, 8vo. for catholics. Berlin 1807, 8vo. by the Bible Society. Pressburg 1808, 8vo. for protestants. Berlin 1813, by the Bible Society.

ceding period, political, poetical, and religious subjects were merged in each other, it was only the necessary result of the confusion occasioned by the struggles of the time. Where one object is predominant, all others must naturally become subordinate; but wherever that which appears amiable only as the free tendency of the whole soul, is exacted as a duty, a spiritual despotism is to be feared; of which we find very little in the history of Bohemian literature. The classics never were studied with more attention and devotion, were never imitated with more taste. Italy, the cradle of fine arts, and then the seat of general cultivation was never visited more frequently by the Bohemian nobility, than when three fourths of the nation adhered to the protestant church. At the same time too when the Bohemian protestants had to watch most closely their religious liberties, and to defend them against the encroachments of a treacherous court, they did not deem it a desertion of the cause of religion to unite with the same catholics, whose theological doctrines they contested, in their labours, in the fields of philology, astronomy, and natural philosophy.

The extent of the Bohemian national literature increased during the sixteenth century so rapidly, the number of writers augmented so prodigiously, and the opportunities for literary cultivation presented to the reading public by the multiplication of books through the press, became so frequent, that the difficulty of giving a condensed yet distinct picture of the time, is greatly augmented. A sketch of the political situation of the country may serve as a back ground, in order by its gloomy shades to render still brighter the light of a free mental development.

After the death of George Podiebrad in 1471, the Bohemians—or rather the catholic party, after the pope had excommunicated this prince,—elected Vladislaus, a Polish prince, for their king, who like his son and successor Louis, united on his head the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. The different evangelical denominations were during these reigns in some measure tolerated; except that from time to time a persecution of one or another sect broke out, and again after a year or two was dropped, when the minds of the community had become somewhat pacified. It is a melancholy truth for the evangelical Christian, that at this time the most violent persecutors were to be found among the Calixtins or Utraquists. During the first years of the sixteenth century, persecution was mostly directed against the United Brethren and their writings. The latter were burn-

ed, the former banished, until driven from place to place they found an asylum in the territory of some high minded nobleman, where they established themselves anew, until after some years perhaps a new persecution began. Of a more revolting and bloody description were the measures directed principally against the Lutherans in the years 1522—26, in which the most shocking tortures were employed and several faithful Lutherans and Picardites burned alive. During all this time the catholics and Calixtins exercised a severe censorship; and it was ordained, that every individual who brought a new printed book into the city of Prague, must submit it to the revision of the consistory. These laws however were no better observed than all similar ordinances, when directly in opposition to the spirit of the age. Meanwhile the Calixtins and catholics, although writing against all the others, had their own mutual contests. When however the former caused a new edition of the Bible to be printed in the year 1506,²³ it was unanimously adopted by the catholics also; who, as is amusing to observe, did not notice that a wood cut is appended to the sixth chapter of the Apocalypse, in which the pope is represented in the flames of hell.

In the year 1526 king Louis died in the battle of Mohacz. According to a matrimonial treaty, he was succeeded by his brother in law, Ferdinand archduke of Austria, brother of the emperor Charles V. This prince was received by the Bohemians with reluctance as their king, and only on the condition, insisted on by the estates, that he should subscribe the compact of Basle, by which their religious liberties were secured to them. So long as Ferdinand was occupied in Hungary against the Turks, all went well in Bohemia; but when, in the war which followed the league of Smalkalde, (1547,) the protestants of this country refused to fight against their brethren, a new and unremitted persecution began against all who could in any way be comprised under the name of *sectarians*. The compact of Basle was strictly only in favour of the Utraquists or Calixtins; the Lutherans and Taborites, or as they were then called, United Brethren, as also the Picardites and Grubenheimer, were considered as *sects*, and did not belong to the indulged.²⁴ Their

²³ At Venice; see the preceding note. Dobrovsky calls it a splendid edition, and thinks the reason why the Bohemians had it printed at Venice was, that it could not have been executed so well in Bohemia. *Gesch. der böhm. Sprache*, p. 343.

²⁴ The Picardites, or Picards, who are also called Adamites, exist-

churches were shut up, their preachers arrested, and all who did not prefer to exchange their religion for the Roman Catholic, were compelled to emigrate. The scene altered under Maximilian II, Ferdinand's successor, a friend of the Reformation, and in every respect one of the most excellent princes who ever took upon himself the responsibility of directing the destinies of a nation; to use Schaffarik's happy metaphor, the benefits of his administration fell on the field, which Ferdinand's strength had ploughed, like a mild and fertilizing rain. During his life, and the first ten years of his son Rudolph's reign, Bohemia was in peace; the different denominations were indulged; literature flourished, and the Bohemian language was at the summit of its glory. But we regret to add that the protestants, instead of improving this fortunate period, by uniting to acquire a legal foundation for their church instead of a mere indulgence depending on the will of the sovereign, lived in constant mutual warfare, and attempted only to supplant each other. An ordinance in 1586 against the Picardites, a name under which the Bohemian Brethren were then comprehended; and still

ed as early as 1421, when Žižka crushed them, without annihilating them entirely; the Utraquists detested them because they denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, although they agreed with them in their general principles. They were frequently confounded with the Taborites, among whom at last the remnants of them became lost. The Grubenheimer were the remnants of the Waldenses, who fled to Bohemia in the middle of the 14th century; where under persecution and ridicule, they used to hide themselves in caves, and pits, *Gruben*; hence their name. Under the shield of the Reformation they thought themselves safe, but met only with new oppressors and persecutors. There were numerous other sects, and still more different names of one and the same sect. A sect of the Taborites, for instance, founded by Nicholas Wlasenicky, were alternately called *Miculassenci*, (i. e. Nicolaïtes, the Bohemian form for Nicholas being *Miculass*), or *Wlasenitzi*, from his name, *Pecynowski*, from the place of their meetings, and *Plachtivi*, i. e. the crying, from their manner. See Dobrovsky's *Gesch. der böhm. Sprache*, p. 234. It may be the place here to remark, that the Calixtins or Utraquists, although at first decidedly against the infallibility of the pope, nevertheless in forming the compact of Basle, submitted in the main to the doctrine of Rome, with these four conditions; viz. the free distribution of the Bible to the people; the administration of the sacrament in both kinds; reform of the clergy after the pattern of the apostles; and punishment for "mortal sins" in proportion to their enormity.

more the strict censorship introduced in 1605, first aroused them to unite their strength against oppression; and in 1609 they compelled the emperor to subscribe the celebrated *Literae Imperatoriae*, or edict, by which full liberty in matters of religion was secured to them. During the rest of this period, the protestants remained the ruling party. The university of Prague, by the side of which from A. D. 1556 another of the Jesuits existed, was by that treaty given entirely into their hands. This institution, although in consequence of the foundation of so many similar schools it never recovered completely from the shock it received in 1410, and though for more than a hundred years it had been decidedly on the decline, yet rose in reputation towards the middle of the sixteenth century; and among the professors who filled its chairs, there were always celebrated names. Among the schools of a less elevated rank, those of the Bohemian Brethren at Bunzlau, Prerow, and other places, were distinguished.

Rudolph was a great patron of literature and science; and was quite favourably disposed towards the Bohemian language. Nearly two hundred writers were numbered under his reign; and among these many ladies and gentlemen of his court, of which Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and other scientific foreigners were the chief ornaments. Zeal for the cultivation of their mother tongue, seemed to be the point in which all religious denominations in Bohemia united. But during this century, as in the preceding one, the language of the country existed only side by side with the Latin, which was still preferred by many, for the sake of a more general reputation. It became the chief object of other eminent men, to make their countrymen acquainted with the classics in a Bohemian dress; and to improve the language by a strict imitation of Latin and Greek forms. Among these a rich and noble citizen of Prague named George Hruby must be first named;²⁵ also Pisecky, d. 1511, who translated Isocrates' *Epistle to Demonicus*; Nicholas Konač and Ulric of Welensky, the translators of Lucian; Krupsky, of Plutarch; Ginterod, of Xen-

²⁵ His full name was George Hruby Gelensky. This patriotic and active individual translated and published a whole series of valuable books; among which we mention only Petrarch's *Letters*, Cicero's *Laelius* and *Paradoxa*, several works of Jovian, etc. Nicholas Konač followed in the same path. He translated the Bohemian History of Aeneas Sylvius, two dialogues of Lucian, etc. and wrote, edited, and printed other meritorious and elaborate works.

ophon's *Cyropædia*. Kocyn, celebrated for his eloquence and other gifts, translated the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius and Cassiodorus; Orlicny, the Jewish wars of Josephus, several of the Latin classics, etc.

When we consider this general zeal for the cultivation of the language, it is a matter of surprise that the first Bohemian grammar should not be older than A. D. 1533. Its author was Beneš Optat, who also translated Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament. Another grammar was published by Benešowsky in 1577, a third by the Slovak Benedicti in 1603. But the individual to whom is justly assigned the chief merit in regard to the language, is Weleslawin, d. 1599, professor of history in the university of Prague, and the proprietor of the greatest printing establishment in Bohemia. Partly by his own works, original and translated, and among these three dictionaries for different purposes; partly by the encouragement he gave to other writers, and the activity with which he caused works whether old or new deserving of a greater circulation, to be printed; he acquired a most powerful influence among his cotemporaries.

The field however which was cultivated with the most diligence, was that of theology; and fortunately, during this whole period, with an equal measure of talent and zeal. The writings of the Bohemian brethren, Thomas Prelavsky, Laurentius Krasonitzky, and more especially of Lucas, belong partly to the former, partly to the present period. The latter was a most productive writer; and as being one of their best scholars, he was generally chosen to answer the charges made against the United Brethren, in learned and elaborate pamphlets.²⁶ Several of the productions of the Brethren, mentioned in the former period, were written and printed in the beginning of this. Among these in 1508, Procopius' question, "Whether it is right for a Christian to compel infidels or heretics to embrace the true faith?" is remarkable, as one of the earliest instances in which this position of intolerance was made the subject of public debate, or at least answered in the negative. In 1563 the New Testament was first translated directly

²⁶ This venerable man was ten years president or bishop (Zprawce) of the United Brethren; and his whole life appears to have been devoted to religious purposes. He prepared the hymn book in use among all the congregations of the Brethren; wrote an interpretation of the Apocalypse, 1501; of the Psalms, 1505; a treatise on Hope, 1503; on Oaths etc. His writings, most of which are replete with erudition, are enumerated in Dobrovsky's *Gesch. der böhm. Sprache*, pp. 238, 239, 372, 378, 379.

from the Greek, by J. Blahoslav, another president of the Bohemian Brethren, a man of profound erudition. The first translation of the whole Bible from the original languages, did not take place until several years later. The first edition of this splendid work, for which the patriotic and pious baron John of Žerotín expressly founded a printing office in his castle of Kralic in Moravia, and advanced money for all the necessary expenses, was printed in 1579. This version is still considered, in respect to language, as a model; and in respect to typography, as unsurpassed. On the fidelity of the translation and the value of the commentary, Schaffarik remarks, that “they contain a great deal of that which, two hundred years later, the learned *coryphaei* of exegesis in our day have exhibited to the world as their own profound discoveries.” The translators were Albert Nicolai, Lucas Helić, Joh. Aeneas, George Stryc, E. Coepolla, J. Ephraim, P. Jesenius, and J. Capito.—G. Stryc wrote also a good translation of the Psalms in rhyme, and several theological works. J. Wartowsky likewise translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew and left it in manuscript; but his version has never been published. Of his translation of Erasmus’ paraphrase of the gospels, only that of the gospel of Matthew has been printed. Among the Bohemian Brethren, Augusta surnamed Pileator, d. 1572, Štránský, the above mentioned Blahoslav, Zamrský, d. 1592, were distinguished by profound erudition. They and many others wrote voluminous works on theological subjects, e. g. biblical researches, systematic divinity, sermons, etc. Several of these writers and also many others, were authors of numerous religious hymns; among which not a few are still considered as unsurpassed in any language. Nicholas Klaudian, who was at the same time physician, printer, and theologian, wrote an apology in favour of the Brethren. This individual, who, besides being the printer and editor of several medical works written by himself and others, was in part the translator of Seneca and Lactantius, has further the merit of having published in 1518 the first map of Bohemia. Luther’s sermons and other writings were translated into Bohemian; and the religious affairs of Germany began to excite an intense interest among all classes.

The theological productions of this period written by catholics—among which we distinguish the names Pišek surnamed Scribonius, Makawsky, and the Jesuits Sturm and Hostowin—are mostly of a polemical character; while some also are translations of the fathers, especially of Augustine’s writings; or orig-

inal ascetic productions in the form of allegorical novels. Among the Utraquists several individuals were celebrated as preachers; above all Ctibor Kotwa, who was called the Bohemian Cicero, and Dicastus Mirkowsky. Others wrote theological treatises and interpretations of portions of the Scriptures. Such were Beransky, author of an interpretation of Daniel, of the gospels, the epistles, etc. Orličny, or as he is called in Latin, Aquilinas, known chiefly as a translator of the classics;* Turnowsky, a Slovak by birth; Bydžowsky, Bilegowsky the writer of a Bohemian church history and of a history of the Hussites and Picardites; Rwačowsky, Zeletawsky, Tesak author of many popular religious hymns; Palma, who published towards twenty theological works; Pešina, Maurenin, and Borowsky, who wrote interpretations of the epistles and gospels; Wrbensky author of a biblical Synopsis, a Harmony, etc. Rosacius Susišky, distinguished as a Latin poet; Martin of Drazow, Jacobides Stribrsky, Jakesius Prerowsky,† and others.

There are few among the theological writers of this century,—of whom we have named perhaps the twentieth part,—who have not left at least ten volumes of their own writings; while many have reached twice, and some thrice the number. More than one third of the printed works in this department contain sermons. The eloquence of the pulpit acquired a high degree of cultivation; and besides the two Utraquist preachers mentioned above, many other names were celebrated among them. In respect to erudition, however, the Brethren occupied decidedly the first rank. In religious hymns all sects were equally productive; and there are, as we have mentioned already, not a few among them of a high excellence. To the names of spiritual poets alluded to in the preceding paragraphs, we may here add the following: Sobeslawsky Řešatko, Gryllus, Herstein of Radowesic, Horsky, Mart. Pisecky, Taborsky, Sylvanus, a Slovak by birth and called by way of eminence *Poeta Bohemicus*, Chmelowec, Mart. Philomusa, Karlsberg, Hanuš; and more especially Lomnický, *poeta laureatus*, who is regarded as the first Bohemian poet of the age.

These names comprise also nearly all we have to say of the state of Bohemian poetry in general. Not that some of them did not occasionally desert the sacred muse, and compose spe-

* See page 456 above.

† The five last mentioned were banished in 1621.

cimens of secular poetry ; for some of Lomnický's larger and most celebrated works belong to this class, as may be seen by the titles ; e. g. 'The arrows of Cupid,' 'The golden Bag,' etc.²⁸ But all that is of real poetical value, is of a religious character ; and bears too much the stamp of its age, to be relished at the present day. The secular poets of the time wrote, with a few exceptions, in Latin.

Among the historians of merit we may name the following writers of Bohemian history : Hagek of Libočan, Kuthen, Procopius Lupáč, Paprocky a Pole who however wrote some of his works in the Bohemian language, Racownicky, and the above-mentioned Weleslawin and Bilegowsky. In respect to universal history, or that of other lands, we find the names of Placel, Sixt von Ottersdorf, Konstantinovic, Kocin, and others. This period is equally rich in valuable books of travels. Count Wratislaw of Mitrowic, d. 1635, described his interesting embassy from Vienna to Constantinople ; C. Harant, a courtier and statesman, published his travels in Egypt and Palestine ; Prefat of Wilkanow likewise gave a description of his journey from Prague to Palestine ; Charles of Žerotin, the son of the munificent patron of the United Brethren, and like him their protector and friend, left letters and a description of his travels.

As lawyers, orators, and political writers, the following names may be adduced : Baron Kocin of Kocinet, whom we have had occasion to mention repeatedly ; the counts Sternberg, Wratislaw of Mitrowic, and Slawata ; the latter known as one of the persons thrown from a lofty window of the castle by the violence of count Thurn—one of the introductory scenes of the thirty years' war ; Baron Budowec of Budow, equally excellent as a Christian and a statesman, the protector and public defender of the Bohemian Brethren, and faithful to his religious conviction until his last breath ; Christopher Harant, another nobleman of great merit, whom we mentioned above as a distinguished traveller. Both these last were executed in 1621. Writers of merit in the department of jurisprudence, were also the counsellors Ulric of Prostibor under Ferdinand I, Wolf of Wresowic,

²⁸ Simon Lomnický of Budec was court poet ; and in addition to the poetical crown, his talents procured him a patent of nobility. He wrote twenty-eight volumes, most of which are printed. For more general information respecting his works, and those of the other writers here mentioned, we must refer our readers to Jungmann's *Historie literatury České*, Prague, 1825, and Schaffarik's often cited work.

the chancellor Koldin, and others. But on topics like these, by far the greater number wrote only in Latin; and these of course we do not mention here.

Writers on the medical and natural sciences cannot well be separated here; since in most cases the same individuals distinguished themselves in the departments of medicine, astronomy and mathematics. The following, along with many others, are named with distinction: Th. Hagek, body physician of the emperors Maximilian and Rudolph, and a celebrated astronomer; Želotyn, author of medical and mathematical works; Zalužanský, physician and naturalist, who anticipated the great Linnæus in his doctrine of the sexual distinction and impregnation of plants; P. Codicillus, historian, philosopher, theologian and astronomer, who wrote on all these different subjects; Huber von Riesenbach, a physician and rector of the university of Prague; Šud, a celebrated astronomer; and many more.²⁹

The number of books printed during this period cannot well be ascertained; since by far the greater number were burned or otherwise destroyed in the dreadful catastrophe which signalized its close. Prague alone had eighteen printing offices; and fourteen more existed in other places in Bohemia and Moravia. Besides these, many Bohemian books were printed at Venice, Nürnberg, Wittenberg, etc. and some in Holland and Poland.

In 1617, the emperor Matthias succeeded in obtaining the crown of Bohemia for his nephew Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. This was the signal for the catholics, in spite of the *Litterae Imperatoriae* of the emperor Rudolph, to make new attempts for the suppression of the protestants. The Estates belonging to this denomination brought their complaint before the emperor, who gave them no redress; and thus the spark was kindled into flames, which for thirty years continued to rage throughout all Germany. At the death of Matthias in 1619, the Bohemians refused to receive Ferdinand II as their king, and elected the protestant palatine Frederic V, a generous prince, but incapable of affording them support. The battle at the White Mountain near Prague, in 1620, decided the destiny of Bohemia. Twenty-seven of the leaders of the insurrection were publicly executed; sixteen were exiled or condemned to prison for life; their property, as also the possessions of seven hundred and twenty-eight noblemen and knights who had voluntarily acknow-

²⁹ See the two works named in the preceding note.

ledged themselves to have taken part in the insurrection, and of twenty-nine others who had fled, was wholly confiscated; and thus the amount of fifty-three millions of rix dollars transferred from protestant to catholic hands. The *Literae Imperatoriae* were annulled; the protestant religion in Bohemia abolished; and that kingdom declared a purely catholic hereditary monarchy. All non-catholic preachers were banished; thirty thousand families who preferred exile to a change of their religion, emigrated. Among them 185 were noble families; the others artists, mechanics, merchants, and labourers. Yet in the villages, among the woods and mountains, where neither soldier nor Jesuit had penetrated, and there alone, many protestants remained, buried in a fortunate obscurity. From the time of this catastrophe, the Bohemian language has never again been used in public business. The thirty years' war completed the devastation of this unfortunate country. In 1617, Bohemia had 732 cities and 34,700 villages; when Ferdinand II died in 1637, there remained 130 cities and 6000 villages; and its three millions of inhabitants were reduced to 780,000.

FOURTH PERIOD.

From the battle at the White Mountain, A. D. 1620, to the Revival of Literature in A. D. 1774—80.

Of this melancholy period we have but little to say. A dull pressure lay upon the nation; it was as if the heavy strokes inflicted on them had paralysed their very limbs. Innumerable monks came to Bohemia from Italy, Spain, and the south of Germany, who condemned and sacrificed to the flames every Bohemian book as necessarily heretical. There were individuals who boasted having burned with their own hands 60,000 literary works. They broke into private families, and took away whatever Bohemian books they could find. Those which they did not burn, were deposited in separate chambers in the convents, provided with iron grates, bolts, and chains drawn before the door, on which was written, *The Hell*. They distributed pamphlets respecting hell and purgatory, the reading of which produced derangement of mind in many weak persons; until at last the government was wise enough to lay a severe prohibition upon these measures. The Bohemian emigrants indeed continued to have their religious books printed in their foreign homes; but they wrote comparatively few new works. These however they con-

trived to introduce into Bohemia, where they were answered by the Jesuits and Capuchins in thick folio volumes, written in a language hardly intelligible. There were however some honourable exceptions among these fathers; some persons, who independent of religious prejudices continued to labour for the benefit of a beloved mother tongue. The Jesuits Konstanž, Steyer, and Drachovsky, wrote grammatical works, and the two first attempted to translate the Bible anew. Pláchy, d. 1650, Libertin, and Taborsky, were distinguished preachers; Pešina, d. 1680, Hammerschmidt, d. 1731, and Beckowsky, d. 1725, wrote meritorious historical works; Rosa, d. 1689, composed another grammar and a dictionary. Others wrote in Latin; and among these must be named the Jesuit Balbin, d. 1688, who prepared several historical and bibliographical works of importance, part of which however were not published until long after his death.³⁰

We turn once more to the unfortunate emigrants, and in the midst of the distress, privations, and sacrifices, which were the natural accompaniments of their exiled condition, we rejoice to meet with a name, which owes its splendour not alone to the general poverty of the period, but which outshines even the most distinguished of the former age, and is indeed the only one in the literary history of Bohemia, which has acquired an *European* fame. This is Comenius, the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. Although he belongs partly to the former period, and, in respect to his style, decidedly to the golden age of the Bohemian literature, the time of his principal activity falls within this melancholy period. A few words may be devoted to the life of this remarkable individual. He was born A. D. 1592 in the village of Komna in Moravia. His baptismal names were John Amos; his father had probably no family name, as was frequently the case at that time among the lower classes throughout all Europe. According to the custom of the time, he was called Komnensky from his native place, the Latin form of which is Comnenius, or more commonly Comenius.

³⁰ Balbin was professor of rhetoric at Prague. His works are of importance for the literary history of Bohemia: *Epitome rer. Bohem.* Prague 1677. *Miscellanea hist. rer. Bohem.* Prague 1680—88. After his death Unger edited in 1777—80 his *Bohemia docta*, and Pelzel in 1775 his *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, præcipue Bohemica*. See below under the fifth period of Bohemian literature, near the beginning.

His parents, who belonged to the community of the Brethren, sent him to school at Herborn. He distinguished himself so much as to be made rector at Prerau, when only twenty-two years old; and two years later was transferred to Fulnek. In 1618 this latter city was plundered by the Spaniards, and Comenius lost all his books and other property. When the great persecution of the protestants broke out, he fled to Poland. Here he found many of his countrymen, of the sect of the Brethren, whom the persecutions of the former century had already driven hither, and who had here gathered themselves into communities essentially of the same constitution; although in some measure they were amalgamated with the dissenters in Poland. In 1632 they elected him their bishop. In 1631 he published his *Janua linguarum reserata*, a work which spread his fame over all the world, and which was translated into twelve European languages, and also into Persian, Arabian, and Mongolian. His object in this work was to point out a new method of teaching languages, by which they were to be used as keys for acquiring other useful knowledge. In 1641 he was invited to England to prepare a new arrangement of the schools; but the civil war having prevented the execution of this project, he went from England to Sweden, whither the chancellor Oxenstiern had invited him for a similar purpose. After protracted journeys through half Europe, he returned to Lissa, the principal seat of his activity. In 1659 he published his *Orbis pictus*, the first picture book for children which ever appeared, and which acquired the same reputation as the work above mentioned. The war and the destruction of Lissa compelled him some years later to leave Poland; he sought another asylum in Germany, and settled at length at Amsterdam, where he died in 1671, occupied with literary pursuits until his last hour. According to Adelung he wrote not less than ninety-two works, of which only fifty-four have come down to us; and among these twenty are in the Bohemian language. His style has a classical perfection; the contents of his works are manifold, and have mostly lost their interest for the present age.³¹ In the last

³¹ One of Comenius's works: *Labirynth svieta a rag ardee*, i. e. the World's Labyrinth and the Heart's Paradise, reminds us strongly of Bunyan's celebrated Pilgrim's Progress. It was first printed at Prague 1631, in 4to. and after several editions in other places, it was last printed at the same city in 1809, 12mo. His Latin works were printed at Amsterdam in 1657, under the title *Opera didactica*.

years of his life, Comenius is said to have devoted himself to a mystical interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures; he discovered in the Revelation of St. John the state of Europe, as it then was; awaited the millennium in the year 1672; and believed in the far-famed Bourignon, as in an inspired prophetess.

A few names only among the emigrants require to be mentioned as writers, after Comenius. They may find their place here: Paul Stransky, who was exiled in 1626 and found an asylum as professor at Thorn, wrote a history of Bohemia in Latin in 1643, which was translated and accompanied with supplements and corrections by Cornova, in 1792. Elsner, pastor of the Bohemian Brethren at Berlin, and Kleich at Zittau, printed works for religious instruction, devotional exercises for protestants, etc.

The greater part of what was written during this period, proceeded from the Slovaks in Hungary, a nation related to the Bohemians in race and language, who after the reformation had adopted the Bohemian dialect as their literary language.* Although also constantly struggling against oppression and persecution, the protestants in Hungary were not formally annihilated, as in Bohemia; but belonged rather to the so called tolerated sects. A certain degree of activity in behalf of their brethren in faith, was consequently allowed to them, especially under Maria Theresa. We meet among them with hardly any other than theological productions, or works for religious edification. The two pastors Krman and Bel, who both died towards the middle of the eighteenth century, men of no inconsiderable merit as Christians and as scholars, prepared a new edition of the Bohemian Bible, translated several works of Luther, Arndt, etc. Ambrosius, their cotemporary, wrote a commentary on Luther's catechism, and several other useful religious works; G. Bahyl published an introduction to the Bible, a history of the symbolical books, and assisted Comenius in his *Orbis pictus*; Matthias Bahyl became the object of a cruel persecution, on account of a translation of Meissner's *Consultatio orthod. de fide Lutherana*, etc. Numerous religious hymns were written in Bohemian by Hruškowic, the two Blasius, Glosius, Augustini, and others. Michalides translated the *Summarium biblicum* of the theologians of Wittenberg; and another protestant minister, Doležal, wrote in 1746 a Bohemian grammar. But their books, with a

* See p. 423 above.

few exceptions, were little read beyond the frontiers of Hungary, and had consequently little or no influence on the Bohemians. The works written in the Slovakian dialect do not belong here.

FIFTH PERIOD.

Revival of Bohemian Literature, from A. D. 1774—80 to the present time.

In A. D. 1774, the marshal count Kinsky published a work on the advantages and necessity of a knowledge of the Bohemian language. At that time so great was the neglect of the mother tongue, that even for a work of so patriotic a nature, he had to employ a foreign language in order to be understood ! One year later appeared an apology for the vernacular tongue of the country, written by the Jesuit Balbin, and edited by Pelzel. These two writings created a deep sensation ; and even the government would seem to have taken notice of them. We find, at least, that in the same year, teachers of the Bohemian language were appointed in the university of Vienna and in two other institutions in that city. At the same time, the royal normal school at Prague began to print several Bohemian books for instruction. When the tolerant views and principles by which Joseph II was actuated, became known, more than a hundred thousand concealed protestants immediately appeared ; their hidden books were brought to light again ; and many works of which only single copies existed, were reprinted. In 1781 the severe edict of Ferdinand II was repealed, and a censorship established upon more reasonable principles. In 1786, the Bohemian language had gained friends enough to induce the government to institute a Bohemian theatre ; which, with a short interruption during the present century, has ever since existed. The Bohemian language has enjoyed still more encouragement during the reign of the present emperor of Austria. In 1793 a professorship for the language and literature of the country was founded in the university of Prague ; the use of that language in all the schools was ordained by several decrees of the government ; and by a law of A. D. 1818, a knowledge of it is made a necessary qualification for holding any office.

In the very outset of this revival of Bohemian literature there appeared so great a multitude of writers, such habits of diligence and productiveness were immediately manifested throughout the whole nation, and such a mass of respectable talent was brought

to light, that the long interval of a dull and deathlike silence, which preceded this period, presents indeed an enigma difficult to be solved. No small influence may be ascribed to Germany. The principles of the government were changed; the country, physically as well as morally exhausted, could recover but gradually; but all this could not create talents where there were none; nor could all external oppression and unfavourable conjunctures destroy the germs of real talent, if they had been there. The list of modern Bohemian writers of merit is very extensive; but we must be satisfied with bringing forward the most distinguished of them, and refer the reader to works less limited than these pages, where he may find more complete information.

Among those whose desert is the greatest in respect to the revival of Bohemian literature, Kramerius, b. 1753, d. 1808, must be named first. He was one of those indefatigable and creative minds, which never sleep, never lose a moment, and by a restless activity and happy ingenuity know how to render the difficult easy,—the apparently impossible, practicable. From the year 1785, he was editor of the first Bohemian newspaper; from 1788, of the annual called the *Toleranz Kalender*, or Almanac of Toleration; and published besides this more than fifty works, written by himself and others, but accompanied with notes or commentaries of his own. None of his productions surpassed mediocrity; but according to the best judges, they were well and perspicuously written; they became popular and exerted a very favourable influence.

As literary historians, Slavic philologists and antiquaries, Pelzel, Prochazka, Durich, Puchmayer, Negedly, Jungmann, Tomsa, Hanka, and above all Dobrovsky, must be distinguished. One of the principal merits of most of these scholars consists in their preparing for print and editing valuable old manuscripts; or in the judicious commentaries which they added to new editions of ancient works already printed. Pelzel we have named above as the editor of the writings of the Jesuit Balbin. Most of his works are in German, but some also in Bohemian. In 1804 Prochazka and Durich translated the Bible for catholics; the former had already translated the New Testament in 1786. His principal labours besides this, were in the department of history. Durich wrote in Latin; but his researches were nevertheless devoted to the Bohemian language and history. Tomsa and Negedly have written Bohemian grammars, and

several other Slavic-philological works and essays.³² Puchmay-er published a large collection of poetry,³³ consisting partly of his own productions, a token of the reviving poetical genius of the nation, which had slept for centuries; his elaborate Russian grammar is also a valuable contribution to Slavic literature in general. Joseph Jungmann, besides a translation of Chateaubriand's *Atala* and of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which Bowring calls "the most admirable among the many admirable versions of that renowned and glorious heroic,"* has written many important essays scattered in periodicals; and also published in 1820 a Bohemian chrestomathy, in 1825 a history of Bohemian literature, and in 1830—31 a complete dictionary of that language. Hanka, librarian at Prague, has made himself particularly known by critical editions of valuable writings out of the golden age of Bohemian literature. In 1817 he was so fortunate as to discover a manuscript of high importance, as well in a philological respect, as for its intrinsic poetical value; which he published in 1819 with a modern Bohemian translation, and also a German translation by Swoboda.³⁴ He has written several works, and also essays in periodicals, of a bibliographical and antiquarian character. Joseph Dobrovsky, born in 1753 in Hungary, but of Bohemian parents, d. 1829, is called the patriarch of the Slavic literature, and was one of the profoundest scholars of the age. His merits in regard to Slavic philology and history are so generally acknowledged, and we have so often had occasion to cite his name in these pages, and to refer the reader to his authority, that without attempting to present a critical view of one, or an analysis of another of his works, we are contented to give in a note the title of his principal works. We are the more willing to adopt this course, because the most of his works form in a certain measure one great whole and mutually supply each other; and because too, the author having in part first explored unknown regions, and having of course

³² J. Nегedly translated the *Iliad*, and also Young's *Night Thoughts* under the name of *Kvílení*, Lamentations. He and his brother Adalbert are also favourably known as lyric poets.

³³ In the year 1795; the fifth and last volume appeared in 1804. Bowring has given several specimens of this collection in the *For. Quart. Review*, Vol. II. p. 145.

* *For. Quart. Review*, Vol. II. p. 167.

³⁴ The celebrated manuscript of Königshof; see note 8.

sometimes found it necessary to retract hypotheses started in his earlier writings, his works cannot well be separated. He wrote mostly in German; sometimes in Latin; while comparatively very few of his numerous books are in the Bohemian language. In this way only could they gain that kind of universality which the subject required, and which has so much contributed to promote the cause of Slavic literature in general.³⁵

There were also some scholars among the Slovaks, who aided the same cause with diligence and talent. Leska, d. 1818, published from 1785 onward the first Slovakian newspaper, and was a diligent and judicious compiler in respect to Slavic lexicography. Palkowicz published a Bohemian dictionary, and prepared in 1808 a more correct edition of the Bible. Plachy, besides many volumes of prose and poetry, published a valuable periodical; Schramko wrote some philological works, etc.

After the collection of poetry by Puchmayer above alluded to, several others of a miscellaneous kind appeared; poetry having been hitherto limited almost exclusively to religious purposes. Kamaryt, Palacky, Chmelensky, Zdirad Polak, Čelakowsky, Snaird, Hnewkowsky, Turinsky, Šir, are favourably known as poets. A. Marek has translated several dramas of Shakspeare; Machaček, several from Goethe; Kličpera, Stepanek, and Sychra, are esteemed dramatic writers. Among the Slovaks, Holli translated the Latin and Greek elegiac poets; Rošnay, Anacreon; and Kollar, who imitates Petrarch, and personifies Slavonia his country as his Laura, manifests a poetical talent of the very first order.³⁶ The most interesting work however for the friends of poetry, is a collection of popular

³⁵ Dobrovsky's principal works are the following: *Script. rer. Bohem.* (with Pelzel) Prague 1784. *Böhm. and Mähr. Literatur*, Prague 1779—84. *Lit. Magazin für Böhmen und Mähren*, 1786—87. *Lit. Nachrichten von einer Reise nach Schweden und Russland*, Prague 1796. *Geschichte der böhm. Sprache und Lit.* Prague 1792; new edition much altered, ib. 1818. *Slavin*, Prague 1808. *Slovanka*, Prague 1814—15. *Lehrgebäude der böhm. Sprache*, Prague 1809, 1819. *Etymologicon*, Prague 1813. *Deutsch-böhm. Wörterb.* 1802—21. *Institutiones Linguae Slav.* Vienna 1822. *Cyrril und Method*, Prague 1823. Also a large number of smaller treatises, essays, reviews, etc. either printed separately, or in periodicals.

³⁶ For several beautiful specimens of this poet, see Bowring's Essay on Bohemian literature, in the *For. Quart. Review*, Vol. II.

songs, by Čelakowsky, which contains a very judicious selection of that inimitable species of songs gathered not only from the Bohemians, Moravians, and Slovaks themselves, but also translations from most of the other Slavic dialects. The reader may himself imagine, how rich in songs so musical a people must be.³⁷

In the department of natural science are to be mentioned, Prest, count Berchtold, Strnad, Sedlaček, Wydra, etc. Others, Bohemians by birth, have written in German, e. g. Haenke, Sieber, etc. etc. Count Buquoy also is of Bohemian origin.—Writers of merit on moral and religious subjects are, Rautenkranz, Zahradnik, Parizek and others. The Slovak Bartholomaeides, a distinguished scholar, has written several useful works on various topics.—Periodicals full of learned researches and variety of interest were edited, *Dobroslaw* by Hromadko and Ziegler, *Krok* by Pest, etc. Among the highest nobility the national language found powerful patrons, and in the establishment of a national Museum, a Bohemian Academy of Sciences, and similar patriotic institutions, the national literature received great encouragement. The names of the counts K. Sternberg and Kolowrath-Liebsteinsky must be mentioned here. But the state of the country is nevertheless far from what it ought to be. The sovereignty of the German language is probably established forever. The present literature of Bohemia, as Jungmann expresses it, “the produce of a few enthusiasts, who, exposing themselves to the hatred of their enemies and the ingratitude of their countrymen, have devoted themselves to the resuscitation of a language, which is neither living nor dead.” It is justly to be feared that their strength will not hold out to struggle against the torrent of time, which in its resistless course overwhelms the nations, and only throws their vestiges in scattered fragments on the banks, as feeble memorials to shew to an inquiring posterity that they once existed.³⁸

³⁷ The title of this work is *Slowanske narodni pisne*, Prague 1822, 1827. A similar collection is *Česke narodni pisne*, by Ritter von Rittersberg, Prague 1825. Bowring gives some interesting specimens from the former. For. Quart. Rev. Vol. II.

³⁸ For more complete information in respect to Bohemian literature, a knowledge of one of the Slavic idioms or of the German language is absolutely required; we know of nothing written on this subject in the English language, except the article of Bowring so often cited, which gives an able survey of the poetical part of the literature,

II. Language and Literature of the Slovaks.

The northwestern part of Hungary is inhabited by the Slovaks, a Slavic nation, who appear to be the direct descendants of the original Slavic settlers in Europe. Numerous colonists of the

but does not profess to cover the whole ground. Besides the numerous works of Dobrovsky, we would refer our readers to the following books: *Effigies virorum eruditorum Bohem. et Morav. etc.* by Voigt and Braun, in German by Pelzel, Prague, 1773—82. Balbini *Bohemia docta*, see note 30. Prochazka *de Secularibus liberal. art. in Bohem. et Morav.* 1782. Also his *Miscellaneen der böhm. und mähr. Lit.* Prague 1784—5. Rulika *Učena Čechic*, Prague 1807—8. Nowotneho *Luže Bibliotheca českých Biblí*. Prague 1810—18. Jungmann's *Historie literatury české*, Prague 1825. Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur*. The grammatical and lexical part of the Bohemian literature is uncommonly rich, and exhibits no small mass of talent. We confine ourselves to citing the titles of those written in German or Latin. No helps in English or French for learning the Bohemian language, so far as we know, ever existed.—GRAMMARS. *Kurze Unterweisung beyder Sprachen, teutsch und böhmisch*, Pilsen 1531 and several later editions. Klatowsky *Böhmisch-deutsche Gespräche*, Prague 1540, and several later editions. B. Optat *Anleitung zur böhm. Orthogr.* etc. 1533, Prague 1588 and 1643. Benesowsky *Gram. Bohem.* Prague 1577. Benedict a Nudožer *Gram. Bohem.* Prague 1603. Drachowsky *Gramm. Bohem.* Olmütz 1660. Constantin's *Lima linguae Bohem.* Prague 1667. *Principia linguae Bohem.* 1670—80; new edition 1783. Jandit *Gramm. ling. Bohem.* Prague 1704, seven new editions to 1753. Dolezal *Gramm. Slavico-bohem.* Pressburg 1746. Pohl *Böhmische Sprachkunst*, Vienna 1756, five editions to 1783. Tham *Böhm. Sprachlehre*, Prague 1785; also his *Böhm. Grammatik*, 1798—1804. Pelzel *Grundsätze der böhm. Sprache*, Prague 1797—98. Negedly *Böhm. Grammatik*, Prague 1804, fourth edition 1830. Dobrovsky's *Lehrgebäude der böhm. Sprache*, Prague 1809, second edition 1819.—DICTIONARIES. Of these we mention only such as would aid persons who wish to learn the language so far as to read Bohemian books; referring the reader for an enumeration of the others to Schaffarik, p. 301. Weleslawin *Sylva quadrilinguis*, Prague 1598. *Gazophylacium bohem. lat. graec. germ.* Prague 1671. Rohn *Böhmisch-lat. deutscher Nomenclator*, Prague 1764—68. Tham *Böhmisch-deutsches Nationallexicon*, Prague 1805—7. Also his *Deutsch-böhmisches und Böhmisch-deutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Prague 1818. Tomsa *Böhm. deutsch-lat. Wörterbuch*, Prague 1791. Palkowic *Böhmisch-deutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch*, Pressburg 1821.

same race are scattered all over the other parts of that country. The Byzantine historians, and, somewhat later, the Russian annalist Nestor, speak of the region on the north of the Danube as being the primitive seat of the Slavi. In early times the *Sarmatae limigantes* or *Jazyges metanastae*, nomadic tribes between the Danube and the Theiss, whose name indicates incontestably their having been Slavi,³⁰ are mentioned as having troubled the Byzantine empire. But they soon disappear entirely from history, and it is not before the ninth century, when they were already Christians, that we meet them again. At that time Slovakia, in Slavic *Slovansko*, viz. the regions adjacent to the two rivers Waag and Gran, reappears as an ingredient part of the ephemeral kingdom of Great Moravia. The rest of Pannonia was inhabited by other Slavic tribes, by Bulgarians, Rumelians and Khazars. In A. D. 894, the Madjares conquered Pannonia, drove back the Slovaks into the mountains, and made them tributary; whilst they themselves settled on the plains. But although the Slovaks appear to have submitted to their fate, and to have thenceforth lived on good terms with their conquerors, it cannot unconditionally be said that the two nations were merged in each other; since, even after nearly a thousand years have passed, they still speak different languages. The Madjares learned the arts of peace from the Slavi; who, besides being already Christians, had built many cities, and were mechanics, traders, agriculturists. All words and terms relating to these occupations, the Madjares had to obtain from them. The Slovaks on their side lost their national existence in that of their Asiatic conquerors, entered into their ranks as soldiers, and participated thenceforward in all their fortunes; but the influence of the Madjares on their language could be only inconsiderable, since the circle of new ideas which the Slovaks had to receive in exchange from them, barbarians as they were, could be only very limited. The language however is the only remnant of their national existence, which the Slovaks have preserved; in every other respect they belong to the Hungarian nation, of which they form an ingredient part, as the Madjares form another; and on the glory of whose valiant deeds they have an equal claim.

Hungary, traversed by two large rivers, the Danube and the Theiss, is divided into four great circles, usually called this side

³⁰ See Schlözer's edition of Nestor, Vol II. p. 76, 97. *Jazyk* signifies in Slavic, *lingua*, tongue.

the Danube and beyond the Danube, this side the Theiss and beyond the Theiss. The circle this side the Theiss is the principal seat of the Slovaks. The counties Trencsin, Thurocz, Arva, Liptau, and Sohl, are entirely inhabited by them, amounting to about 550,000 in number. In the other counties of the same circle they live more mingled with Russniaks and Madjares; and together with the numerous Slovakish settlements which are scattered over all Hungary, are computed in all at about 1,800,000. About 1,300,000 of them are catholics, and the remaining 500,000 protestants.

The Slovakish language, exposed through the geographical situation of the nation, to the influence of various other Slavic idioms—as the Polish, Bohemian, Malo-Russian, Servian, and Vindish—is more broken up into different dialects than perhaps any living tongue. In its original elements it is very nearly related to the Old Slavic language;⁴⁰ a fact which is easy to be explained, when we consider that the developement of this language must have been the result of the primitive cultivation of the Slavi; and that the region about the Carpathian mountains, the seat of the ancient as well as of the present Slovaks, was the cradle of all the Slavic nations which are now spread over the whole of eastern Europe. Of all living Slavic tongues, the Bohemian is the nearest related to the Slovakish, especially as it appears in the oldest Bohemian writers; a circumstance which induced Dobrovsky at first to consider both languages as essentially the same; or rather to maintain, that the Slovakish was nothing more than Old Bohemian. But after entering more deeply into the subject, he found reason to regard the Slovakish idiom as a separate dialect, which forms the link of connexion between the Bohemian and Croatian-Vindish dialects, or between the two principal divisions, the Eastern and Western stems, of the great Slavic family.*

To enumerate the features by which the Slovakish dialects are distinguished from the other Slavic languages, would oblige

⁴⁰ We have seen in the History of the Old Slavic language, that on account of the great similarity between the old Slavic and the Slovakish dialects, both in respect to form and grammatical structure and in the meaning of words, it has been maintained by several philologists, that the language of Cyril's translation of the Bible was in the translator's time the Moravian *Slovakian* dialect. See p. 346 above.

* See p. 413 above.

us to enter more into detail than would be acceptable to persons not acquainted with any of them ; as we may suppose to be the case with most of our readers. Besides, most of the peculiarities which could be alleged as *general* characteristics, are contradicted by so many single cases, that all general rules would be in danger of being rendered void by a plurality of exceptions. The only thing which the Slovaks have not in common with any of the other Slavic tongues, is a variety of diphthongs where all the rest have simple vowels ; e. g. *kuoň*, horse, for *koň* ; *lieuč*, light, for *luč*, etc. In the counties situated on the frontiers of Galicia, the Slovakish language participates in many of the peculiarities of the Polish tongue ; on the frontier of Moravia, the dialect of the people approaches nearer to the vernacular idiom of that province, and consequently to the Bohemian, which has been adopted as their own literary language. On the Slovaks who live more in the interior of the country, the influence of the Madjares, or of the Transylvanian-Germans, or of the Russniaks, or of the Servians, is more or less prominent, according to their location. The less exposed to the influence of other races, the purer of course has the proper Slovakian idiom been preserved. But even in its purest state, it has, as we mentioned above, a strong and decided resemblance to the Bohemian tongue ; from which it is however distinguished by a more harmonious and pleasing sound ; its vowels being fuller and occurring more frequently. But a peculiarity which distinguishes it more materially, is a treasure of words and phrases obsolete or entirely unknown in the present Bohemian language ; although they were to be found in the old Bohemian, and are so still, in part, in the Old Slavic, Russian, and Vindish dialects. Schaffarik mentions that G. Rybay, a minister in the county of Bač, who possessed many valuable manuscripts, had collected 15,000 words for a Slovakish *Idioticon*, and that it would be easy to enlarge this number.⁴¹

The Slovakish language has never been a literary language ; the first attempt to render it so, with a few trifling exceptions, was made about forty years ago ; but the opposition which it met with from the literati who had already adopted the kindred Bohemian tongue for their literary language, together with the

⁴¹ *Geschichte der slavischen Sprache*, etc. p. 377. G. Palcovič, who bought this manuscript, has inserted a large number of Slovakish provincialisms in his Bohemian dictionary.

political obstacles which it had to encounter from the jealousy of the Madjares, seems to have been too strong to be conquered. Indeed, in consequence of this jealousy of the Madjares, the Slovakish language is so far oppressed, that even in the higher schools of the Slovaks themselves this language is not permitted to constitute a branch of instruction, like the Hungarian and Latin. Schaffarik thinks it probable, that in ancient times the vernacular tongue of the counties inhabited by Slovaks was used in public documents and similar writings; and that such historical monuments must be buried in the libraries and archives of the catholic archbishops, noblemen, and cities.⁴² But this subject has never been sufficiently examined. Even the historical popular songs, which about fifty years ago were still to be heard among the Slovakian peasants, and some of which appear to have been derived even from the pagan period, have perished, with the exception of a few initial verses.⁴³ There is no trace known to be left of the mental existence of this nation of nearly two millions of souls, until the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time a great body of Hussites, who were exiled from Bohemia, broke into Upper Hungary, and under the conduct of Giskra von Brandeis, were hired by the queen Elizabeth against the rival Polish-Hungarian monarch Vladislaus, afterwards king of Bohemia. The Bohemian soldiers were accompanied by their wives and children, and settled finally in different parts of Hungary. Other Taboritic colonists followed them, and amalgamated gradually with the Slovaks, among whom they principally established themselves. It is probable that at this time the Slovaks became familiar with the Bohemian as a literary language, which from its kindred genius and its similarity of forms was perfectly intelligible, and must have been highly acceptable to them. When the doctrines of the German reformers penetrated into Hungary, they found the Slovaks already so well prepared, that those doctrines were at once spread among the people by numerous books written by Slovakian clergymen in the Bohemian language. The Bible and the lit-

⁴² See the same work, p. 381.

⁴³ More modern Slovakish popular songs are to be found in Čelakowsky's collection, see above, p. 462 sq. and in the work: *Písničky národné lidu slovenského v Uhřích*, Pesth 1823. The collection: *Slavische Volkslieder*, by Wenzig, Halle 1830, contains sixteen Slovakish songs, mostly taken from Čelakowsky's work in a German translation.

urgical books were written and printed in Bohemian ; and many Bohemians and Moravians came into Hungary as preachers and teachers. Thus the dominion of the Bohemian language over the pulpit, and, since *all* the Slovakian writers of this period were clergymen, in the republic of letters also, was established among the Slovaks without struggle. There is nothing known of any catholic Slovakish writers at this period ; if there were any, they probably followed the beaten track and wrote also in Bohemian or in Latin. But the produce of the literary cultivation of the Slovaks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is at most but small ; for the times appear to have been too heavy, and men's minds too much oppressed, for a free development of their powers. The civil wars, the devastations of the Turks, the religious controversies, and after the battle at the White Mountain, religious oppression and persecution, chased the peaceful muses from Pannonia and put the genius of the people in chains. All the productions of these two centuries, with a few exceptions, are confined to theology, and are mostly sermons, catechisms, devotional exercises, or religious hymns. Schaffarik observes that from these latter there speaks a melancholy gloomy spirit, crying for divine aid and deliverance.⁴⁴ Those Slovakian writers who in any measure distinguished themselves, have been enumerated under their proper heads in our sketch of the Bohemian literature.*

The Bohemian dialect, as we have mentioned repeatedly, is perfectly *intelligible* to the Slovaks. But as it is not to them the language of common conversation, it cannot be *familiar* to their minds. If, in listening to their preachers in the churches, the people succeed in straining up their minds sufficiently to enable them to follow the course of the sermons and devotional exercises, it still seems rather unnatural that even their prayer books, destined for private use, should not be written in their vernacular tongue ; but that even their addresses to the Most High, which more than anything else should be the free and natural effusions of their inmost feelings, should require such an intellectual exertion and an artificial transposition into a foreign clime. It is a singular fact, that whilst everywhere else protestantism and the friends of the Bible have advocated and attempted to raise the dialect of the people, in opposition to a privileged idiom of the priesthood, among the Slovaks the vindication of the vernacular

⁴⁴ See *Geschichte der sl. Spr.* p. 383.

* 458, 462.

tongue has been attempted by the catholics, and has met with strong opposition from the protestants. In the year 1718, Alex. Macsay, a catholic clergyman, published sermons at Tyrnau, written in the common Slovakian dialect. The Jesuits of Tyrnau followed his example, in publishing books of prayers and several other religious works, in a language which is rather a mixture of the dialect of the people and the literary Bohemian language. During the last ten years of the eighteenth century, a more successful attempt was made to elevate the Slovakian dialect spoken on the frontiers of Moravia, and which approaches the Bohemian language most, to the rank of a literary language. At the head of this undertaking were the catholic curates Bajza, Fandli, and Bernolak, especially the last. A society was formed, the members of which bound themselves to buy the books written in Slovakish by Bernolak and his friends. The catholics proceeded in the work with great zeal and activity, and were patronized by the cardinal Rudnay, primate of Hungary, who himself published some of his orations held in the Slovakian dialect, and caused a voluminous Slovakish dictionary, a posthumous work of Bernolak's, to be printed.⁴⁵ A version of the Bible in the same dialect, made by the canon G. Palkowicz, who is also the author of the fourth volume of the above dictionary, was printed in the year 1831.

The protestant Slovaks, who several centuries ago had already acquired by their own contributions the right of citizens in the Bohemian republic of letters,—especially during the course of the seventeenth century, when most of the native Bohemians had been banished from it,—feared to endanger the cause of literature itself by innovations of this kind. They too united themselves into a society, and founded a professorship of Bohemian-Slovakian literature at the Lyceum of Pressburg, which was occupied by another G. Palkowicz, honourably mentioned in our History of Bohemian literature.⁴⁶ The number of protes-

⁴⁵ The same individual, who caused the Dalmatian Bible to be printed; see p. 405 above.

⁴⁶ These two individuals of the same baptismal and family names, George Palkowicz, both following the same pursuits and both not without desert in respect to their countrymen, but nevertheless serving opposite interests according to their different views, must not be confounded. Professor Palkowicz prepared a new edition of the Bohemian Bible for the Slovaks; see p. 462 above. Canon Palkowicz trans-

tant Slovaks being comparatively small, this institution was not sustained longer than ten years. The names of the principal Slovakish-Bohemian writers during this and the last century, have been given above.⁴⁷ We add here those of Bartholomæides, Tablič, Lowich, and Moschotzy, themselves writers of merit, or promoters of literature and science.

Many among the Slovaks, like their brethren the Madjares, have received a German education ; and some indeed have advanced far enough to have that language at command. For the sake of more fame or a larger field of influence, they mostly prefer to write in German. Of these we adduce here only the author of the History of the Slavic Language and Literature, so often cited in our pages, Schaffarik, professor at Neusatz ; who in choosing the German language as his vehicle, has only followed the example of the two greatest Slavic authorities, Dobrovsky and Kopitar.* His work, however, although in other respects justly considered as a valuable contribution to German literature, has contributed more than all others to a knowledge of the Slavic literature in general, and of the classification and mutual relations of the Slavic languages.⁴⁸

III. *History of the Polish Language and Literature.*

The regions of the Baltic and Vistula, after the Goths and Vandals had finally left them, were occupied, towards the fourth century, by the Lettonians and Lithuanians, who are according to some historians Slavic, and according to others Finnic-Scythic tribes.⁴⁹ Other parts of the country were inhabited by the An-

lated the Scriptures into the Slovakian dialect. Professor P. published a Bohemian dictionary, see pp. 462, 464. Canon P. the fourth volume of Bernolak's Slovakian lexicon, as said in the text above.

⁴⁷ See p. 458, 462.

* See more in the Appendix.

⁴⁸ There does not yet exist a philological work, from which a complete knowledge of the Slovakian language in its different dialects could be obtained. The following works of Bernolak regard chiefly the Slovakish-Moravian dialect : *Grammatica Slavica*, Posonii 1790. *Dissertatio de literis Slavorum*, Posonii 1783. *Etymologia vocum Slavicarum*, Tyrnau 1791. *Lexicon Slav. Lat. Germ. Hung.* Buda 1825.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 334. On the origin of these tribes, which seem to have been kindred nations with the ancient Livonians, Esthonians, and

tes and Lygians, nations of the Slavic race, who at the general migration of nations turned themselves, the latter towards the west, and the former southwards, where they settled in Walachia. All these tribes and many more were by the ancients comprised under the name of Sarmatae. In the sixth, or according to others, in the seventh century, the Lekhes, a people kindred to the Tchekhes, who were urged forwards by the Bulgarians, settled on the banks of the Vistula and Varta. Lekh (Lech, Ljach) signified in old Bohemian a free and noble man, and had this meaning still in the fourteenth century. The Lekhes were divided into several tribes, of which, according to Nestor, at first only those who settled on the vast plains, *polie*, of the Ukraine, were called *Polyane*, Poles, i. e. inhabitants of the plain. The tribes which occupied Masovia were called *Masowshane*; the Lekhes who went to Pomerania, *Pomoriane*, etc. The specific name of *Poles*, as applied to all the Lekhish tribes together, does not appear until the close of the tenth century, when the generic appellation of Lekhes or Ljaches had perished. In the year 840, the chiefs of the different tribes united themselves under one common head; at that time they are said to have chosen a husbandman by the name of Pjast for their duke, and the male descendants of this, their first prince, lived and reigned not less than six hundred and thirty years. From Germany and Bohemia Christianity was carried to Poland by catholic priests, probably as early as the ninth century. In the beginning of the tenth, some attempts were made to introduce the Slavic liturgy into Poland. Both species of worship existed for some time peacefully side by side; and even when through the exertions of the Latin priesthood, the Slavic liturgy was gradually superseded by the occidental rites, the former was at least tolerated; and after the invention of printing, the Polish city of Cracow was the first place where books in the Old Slavic dialect, and portions of the Old Slavic Bible, were printed.⁵⁰

Borussians, many hypotheses have been started, but the truth has not yet been sufficiently ascertained. It is at least evident that they are not of Slavic origin, although even this has been maintained by many historians, who were misled by local circumstances. See Parrot's *Versuch einer Entwicklung der Sprache, Abstammung, etc. der Liven, Letten*, etc. The Foreign Quarterly Review contains an interesting essay on Lettish popular poetry, Vol. VIII. p. 61.

⁵⁰ See p. 352, 356.

In the year 965, the duke Miecislav married the Bohemian princess Dombrovka, and caused himself to be baptized. From that time onward, all the Polish princes and the greatest part of the nation became Christians. There is however not one among the Slavic nations, in which the influence Christianity must necessarily have exerted on its mental cultivation, is so little visible; while upon its language it exerted none at all. It has ever been and is still a favourite opinion of some Slavic philologists, that several of the Slavic nations must have possessed the art of writing long before their acquaintance with the Latin alphabet, or the invention of the Cyrillic system; and among the arguments by which they maintain this view, there are indeed some too striking to be wholly set aside.⁵¹ But neither from those early times, nor from the four or five centuries after the introduction of Christianity, does there remain any monument whatever of the Polish language; nay, with the exception of a few fragments without value, the most ancient document of that language extant, is not older than the sixteenth century. Until that time the Latin idiom reigned exclusively in Poland. The teachers of Christianity in this country were for nearly five centuries foreigners, viz. Germans and Italians. Hence arose that unnatural neglect of the vernacular tongue, of which these were ignorant; the private influence of the German, still visible in the Polish language; and the unlimited dominion of the Latin. Slavic, Polish, and heathenish, were to them synonymous words. Thus, whilst the light of Christianity everywhere carried the first dawn of life into the night of Slavic antiquity; the early history of Poland affords more than any other part of the christian world a melancholy proof, how the passions and blindness of men operated to counterbalance that holy influence. But although so unfavourably disposed towards the language, it cannot be said that the influence of the foreign clergy was in other respects injurious to the literary cultivation of the country. Benedictine monks founded in the beginning of the eleventh century the first Polish schools; and numerous convents of their own and other orders presented to the scholar an asylum, both when in the year 1241 the Mongols broke into the country, and also during the civil wars which were caused by the family dissensions of Piast's successors. Several chronicles in Latin were written by Poles long before the history of the Polish literature begins, and Polish no-

⁵¹ See p. 347 sq.

blemen went to Paris, Bologna, and Prague, to study sciences, for the very elements of which their own language afforded them no means.

Polish writers are in the habit of dividing the history of their language into five periods.⁵² The *first* extends from the introduction of Christianity to Casimir the Great, A. D. 1333.

The *second* period extends from A. D. 1333 to A. D. 1506, or the reign of Siegmund I.

The *third* period is the golden age of the Polish literature, and closes with the foundation of schools of the Jesuits, A. D. 1622.

The *fourth* period comprises the time of the preponderance of the Jesuits, and ends with the revival of literature by Konarski, A. D. 1760.

The *fifth* period comprehends the interval from A. D. 1760 to the present time.

Before we enter into a regular historical account of these different periods, we will devote a few words to the formation and the character of the language itself.

The extent of country in which the Polish language is predominant, is much smaller than would naturally be concluded from the great circuit of territory, which at the time of its power and independence, was comprised under the kingdom of Poland. We do not allude to the sixteenth century, when Poland was the most powerful state in the north; when the Teutonic knights, the conquerers of Prussia, were compelled to acknowledge its protection; and when not only were Livonia and Courland, the one a component part of the Polish kingdom, and the other a Polish fief, but even the ancient Smolensk and the venerable Kief, the royal seat of Vladimir, and the Russian provinces adjacent to Galicia, all belonged to Poland. We speak of this kingdom as it was at the time of its first partition between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Of the four or five millions of inhabitants in the provinces united with Russia at the three successive partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, only one and a half million are Poles, and speak dialects of that language;⁵³ in White and Black

⁵² See Bentkowski's *Hist. literatury Polsk.* Warsaw 1814, Vol. I. pp. 162—176.

⁵³ The statistical information respecting the Russian-Polish provinces is very imperfect, and contains the most striking contradictions. Benken gives the number of inhabitants at four millions; Wiehmann in 1813, at 6,380,000; Arsenjef at seven millions. According to Bröm-

Russia, the Russniaks are by far more numerous ; and in Lithuania the Lithuanians. Besides the independent language of these latter, the Malo Russian and White Russian dialects are spoken in these provinces ; and all documents of the grand-duchy of Lithuania before it was united with Poland in A. D. 1569, were written in the latter.⁵⁴

The Polish language is farther spoken (1) by the inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland formed in 1815, three and a half millions in number, or reckoned together with the Poles of the Polish-Russian provinces, five millions ; (2) by the inhabitants of Galicia, belonging to Austria, and the Poles in the Austrian part of Silesia, about three millions ; (3) by the inhabitants of the small republic of Cracow, about one hundred thousand ; and (4) by the inhabitants of the Prussian grand-duchy of Posen, and a part of the province called Western Prussia, together with the Poles in Silesia and the Kassubes in Pomerania ; in all less than two millions.⁵⁵

Thus the Polish language is spoken by a population of about ten millions. Like all living languages, it has different dialects, and is in one place spoken with greater purity than in another. As these varieties, however, are neither very striking nor have ever had an influence on literature, they do not concern us here.

The ancient Polish language seems to have been very nearly related to the dialects of the Tchekhes and the Sorabian Vendes. Although very little is known in respect to the circumstances and progress of the formation of the language into its present state, it is sufficiently obvious, that it has been developed from the conflict of its natural elements with the Latin and German idioms. Of the other Slavic dialects, the Bohemian is the only one which has exerted any influence upon the Polish

sen's *Russland und das russische Reich*, Berl. 1819, there are not more than 850,000 Poles among them, nearly all noblemen ; the lower classes are Russniaks and Lithuanians. In our statement of the number of Poles in these provinces, we have followed Schaffarik.

⁵⁴ See. p. 361.

⁵⁵ These statements seem to disagree with those of Hassel, which rest on the authority of the returns of 1820. He states that Austrian Poland has 4,226,969 inhabitants ; Prussian Poland, 2,584,124. The population of the former consists however of a large proportion of Russniaks, and more especially of Jews ; the latter has a similar proportion of German inhabitants.

tongue. The Italian and Turkish words introduced during the dominion of an Italian priesthood, and through the political relations of the Poles with the Turks, never entered deeply into the body of the language; and might be easily exchanged for better Polish forms of expression.

Of all the Slavic dialects, the Polish presents to the foreigner the most difficulties; partly on account of the great variety and nicety of shades in the pronunciation of the vowels, and from the combination of consonants in such a way, that only a Slavic tongue can conquer them, and cause the apparent harshness in some measure to disappear;⁵⁶ partly on account of its refined and artificial grammatical structure. In this latter respect it differs materially from the Russian language; which although equally rich, is remarkable for its simplicity and perspicuity. The Polish and Bohemian idioms, in the opinion of the best judges, are above all others capable of faithfully imitating the refinements of the classical languages; and the Polish prose is modelled after the Latin with a perfection, which, in the golden age of Polish literature, was one of its characteristic features. It is therefore surprising, that the Polish language in poetry, although in other respects highly cultivated, does not admit the introduction of the classical prosody. We mean, the Polish language in its present state; for it is very probable, that in its original character it possessed, in common with all the other Slavic languages, the elements of a regular system of *long* and *short* syllables. So long, however, as there have existed Polish poets, they have not measured, but, in imitation of the French, have *counted* the syllables. With the exception of a few poets of the last period, who have written in blank verse, and a few weak attempts to adapt the Greek principles of accent to the Polish language, all Polish poetry is, like the French, in rhyme; and the French Alexandrine is the favourite form of the Polish poets.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ We doubt whether any but Slavic organs would be able to pronounce the name of the place, to which the college of Zamosc was removed. It is Szczecbrzeszyn.

⁵⁷ Zaluski and Minasowicz wrote verses with *counted* not *measured* syllables, without rhyme; Przybylski's and Staszye's translations of Homer are in hexameters. That rhyme is not natural to the Polish language, is evident from the ancient popular poetry of the other Slavic nations; which are all without rhyme. The author of the work

FIRST PERIOD.

From the introduction of Christianity to Casimir the Great, A. D. 1333.

In dividing the history of the Polish literature into five periods, we follow the example and authority of Bentkowski; although it seems to be singular, to pretend to give an account of a literature which did not yet exist. The history of the Polish literature does not properly begin before the close of the second period; although that of the *literary cultivation* of the nation commences with the beginning of that period; and a few slight traces of it are to be found even in the middle of the first. Of the language itself, nothing is left but the names of places and persons, and some Polish words scattered through the Latin documents of the time, written without orthographic rules, and therefore often hardly intelligible. There exists an ancient Polish war-song, the author of which is said to have been St. Adalbert, a Bohemian by birth, who was bishop of Prague at the end of the tenth century;⁵⁸ but even according to Rakowiecki, a philologist who is more disposed than any other to find traces of an *early* cultivation of the Slavic nations, and especially of the Poles, this song, or rather hymn, is, in its present form, not older than the fourteenth century. All that is extant from this period is written in Latin. Besides some unimportant documents and an anonymous biography of Adalbert, there remain several historical works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Martin Gallus, a Frenchman, who lived in Poland between 1110 and 1135, is considered as the oldest Polish historian.

Volkslieder der Polen, assumes the absence of rhyme in some of them as a proof of their antiquity.

⁵⁸ This song, called *Boga Redzica*, can only be named a war-song, because the Poles used to sing it when advancing to battle. It is rather a prayer to the Virgin, ending with a sixfold Amen. In a poetical respect it has no value. It is printed in Bowring's *Specimens of the Polish Poets*, p. 12, together with the music, copied from a manuscript which is said to be from the twelfth century. No translation is added. It is remarkable that this hymn is still sung, or at least was so in the year 1812, in the churches of the places where St. Adalbert lived and died, viz. at Kola and at Gnesen. Niemcewicz, who published it, states that he himself heard it at that time at the latter place.

Other chronicles of Poland were written by the bishops of Cracow, Matthew Cholewa, and Vincent, son of Kadlubec, who died in 1223; by Bogufal, bishop of Posen, some twenty years later; and by Godzislav Baszko, about thirty years later still. Śirzemb-ski wrote towards the middle of the thirteenth century a history of the popes and Roman emperors. In 1008 duke Boleslav, the son of Miescislaw, invited Benedictine monks to Poland, who founded convents at Sieciechov and Lysagora, with schools attached to them. This example was followed at a later period by other orders; and in Poland longer than in any other country, education was entirely in the hands of the ecclesiastics. For several hundred years, the natives were excluded from all clerical dignities and privileges, and the numerous monasteries were filled only with foreign monks. Even as late as the fifteenth century, foreigners had decidedly the preference. In the year 1237 Pelka, archbishop of Gnesen, directed the institution of schools by the priests; but added the recommendation to the bishops, that they should employ as teachers only Germans who understood Polish. In A. D. 1285 at the synod of Leczyc, they went a step farther in excluding all foreigners, who were ignorant of the Polish language, from the places of ecclesiastical teachers and instructors. But more than eighty years later, it was found necessary at the synod of Kalisz in 1357 to repeat the same decree; and even a century after this time, in A. D. 1460, John Ostrorog complained that all the rich convents were occupied by foreign monks.⁵⁹ These ignorant men were wont to throw into the fire the few writings in the barbarian language, which they could discover; and as instructors of the youth, were able to fill the heads of the young nobility with the most unnatural prejudices against the vernacular tongue of their own country. Besides the clergy, many other foreigners also settled in Poland, as mechanics and traders, especially Germans. But as they all lived merely in the cities of Poland, they and their language had far less influence on the people, than was the case in Bohemia, where they mingled with all classes.

⁵⁹ See Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slav. Sprache*, p. 421.

SECOND PERIOD.

From Casimir the Great to Siegmund I. A. D. 1333 to A. D. 1506.

Casimir is one of the few princes, who acquired the name of the Great not by victories and conquests, but through the real benefits of laws, national courts of justice, and means of education, which he procured for his subjects. His father, Vladislaus Lokietek, had resumed the royal title, which hitherto had been alternately taken and dropped; and was the first who permanently united Great and Little Poland. Under Casimir, the present Austrian kingdom of Galicia, which, together with Lodomeria, the present Russian government Vladimir, was then called Red Russia, was added by inheritance. Lithuania became connected with Poland as a Polish fief in the year 1386, when queen Hedevig, heiress of the crown of Poland, married Jagello, duke of Lithuania; but was first completely incorporated as a component part of the kingdom of Poland only so late as the year 1569. Masovia had been thus united some forty years earlier. At the time of the marriage of Hedevig and Jagello, the latter caused himself to be baptized, and introduced Christianity into Lithuania, where he himself in many cases acted as an apostle.

As to the influence of Casimir the Great upon the literary cultivation of his subjects, it was more mediate than immediate. Whilst his cotemporary and neighbour Charles IV of Bohemia, loved and patronized the language of that kindred nation, Casimir paid no attention whatever to the vernacular tongue of his country; nor was any thing done under his administration for the development of that rich dialect. This king indeed, as early as A. D. 1347, laid the foundation of the high school of Cracow; but the regular organization and influence of this institution dates only from half a century later. But by introducing a better order of things, by providing his subjects with their earliest code of laws, by instituting the first constitutional diets, by fortifying the cities and protecting the tillers of the soil against a wild and oppressive nobility, he established a better tone of moral feeling throughout the nation. A seed sown in such ground, necessarily springs up slowly, but surely.

With Casimir the race of the Pjasts expired. His nephew, Louis of Hungary, a prince of the house of Anjou, was elected

king, whose reign was spent in constant war, and left no trace of care for the internal cultivation of the country. The limitation of the power of the sovereign, and the exorbitant privileges of the Polish nobility, date from the reign of this prince; he resided mostly in Hungary, and granted to the Poles all their demands, in order to prevent the alienation of their crown from his house. After his death his second daughter, Hedevig, was preferred to the emperor Sigismund, who was married to the eldest, Mary, because this prince refused to subscribe the conditions demanded by the Polish Estates. Hedevig married Jagello of Lithuania; and under their descendants the Jagellons, who reigned nearly two centuries, Poland rose to the summit of its power and glory. With Siegmund I, the grandson of Jagello, but the fifth king after him, a new period of the Polish literature begins.

The history of the Polish language, as we said in our introduction, properly commences only with the close, or at the utmost with the middle of the present period, when in the year 1488 the first printing office was erected at Cracow. There is indeed said to have existed a Polish translation of the Bible, made by order of queen Hedevig before the year 1390; and writers of the sixteenth century speak of having seen a Polish Bible, either translated anew, copied, or prepared, for Sophia, fourth queen of Jagello, by her chaplain, Andreas of Jaszowicz.⁶⁰ There are still some biblical fragments extant, which appear to be derived from this period; although no complete copy has been preserved. The oldest other manuscripts extant in the Polish language, are a portion of the preface to an ancient statute of Casimir; several documents relating to suits at law, etc. from the last half of the fourteenth century; and fragments of translations of statutes, the ten commandments in verse, a translation of one of Wickliffe's hymns, and a few other unimportant productions of the fifteenth century.

The orthography of the language, and especially the adaption of the Latin alphabet to it, seems to have troubled the few writers of this period exceedingly; they appear to have founded their principles alternately on the Latin, the Bohemian, and the German methods of combining letters; an inconsistency, which adds greatly to the difficulties of modern Slavic etymology.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Dobrovsky's *Slovanka*, Vol. II. p. 237.

⁶¹ See Schaffarik, pp. 420—424.

Annalists of Polish history, who wrote in Latin, were also not wanting in this period. Sig. Rositzius, Dzierzwa,* and more especially John Dlugosz, bishop of Lemberg, wrote histories and chronicles of Poland; and the work of the latter is still considered as highly valuable.

THIRD PERIOD.

From Sigismund I to the establishment of the schools of the Jesuits in Cracow, A. D. 1505 to A. D. 1622.

In northern climates, the bright and glowing days of summer follow in almost immediate succession a long and gloomy winter, without allowing to the attentive mind of the lover of nature the enjoyment of observing, during a transient interval of spring, the gradual developement of the beauty of the earth. Thus the flowers of Polish literature burst out from their buds with a rapidity unequalled in literary history, and were ripened into fruit with the same prodigious celerity.

The university of Cracow had been reinstituted under Jagello in A. D. 1400, and organized after the model of that of Prague. Although the most flourishing period of this institution was the sixteenth century, yet it presented during the fifteenth to the Polish nobility a good opportunity of studying the classics; and it is doubtless through this preparatory familiarity with the ancient writers, that the appearance to which we have alluded, must be principally accounted for. It was moreover now the epoch, when the genius of christian Europe made the most decided efforts to shake off the chains which had fettered the freedom of thought. The doctrines of the German Reformers, although the number of their professed disciples was in proportion smaller than in Bohemia, had nevertheless a decided influence upon the general direction of the public mind. The wild flame of false religious zeal, which in Poland also under the sons and immediate successors of Jagello, had kindled the faggots in which the disciples of the new doctrines were called to seal the truth of their conviction with their blood, was extinguished before the milder wisdom of Sigismund I; although even the early part of his reign was not yet entirely free from religious persecution. The activity of the

* His *Chronicon Polonorum* was reprinted at Warsaw in 1824; together with Vincent Kadlubeck's *Res gestae principum ac regum Poloniae*.

inquisition was restrained. But the new doctrines found a more decided support in Sigismund Augustus. Poland became, under his administration, the seat of a toleration then unequalled in the world. Communities of the most different religious principles formed themselves, at first under the indulgence of the king and the government, and finally under the protection of the law.⁶² Even the boldest theological sceptics of the age, the two Socini, found in Poland an asylum. The Bohemian language, which already possessed so extensive a literature, acquired during this period a great influence upon the Polish. The number of clerical writers, however, which in Bohemia was so great, was comparatively only small in Poland. Indeed it is worthy of remark, that while in other countries the diffusion of information and general illumination proceeded from the clergy, not indeed as a body, but from individuals among the clergy, in Poland it was always the highest nobility who were at the head of literary enterprises or institutions for mental cultivation. There are many princely names among the writers of this period; and there are still so among those of the present day. This may however be one of the causes, why education in Poland was

⁶² Among these were the Unitarians, called also Anti-trinitarians, modern Arians, and afterwards Socinians. They called themselves Polish Brethren. Their principal school and printing office was at Racow; several of their teachers were distinguished for learning, their communities were wealthy and flourishing, and not a few of the highest families of Poland belonged to them. The doctrines of the two exiled Italians, Lelio and Fausto Socini, uncle and nephew, found among them only a conditional approbation; most of them were unwilling to receive Fausto, who developed his views more openly than his uncle, into their community. Internal dissensions were the result, and the establishment of new and smaller congregations. A disturbance among the students at Racow in 1638, gave to the catholics and to the other protestants a welcome pretext for persecuting them; in 1658 their denomination was ultimately suppressed, and the choice left to them between the adoption of the catholic religion or exile within three years. A part of them emigrated to Germany, where they were soon merged in other protestant denominations; others went to Transylvania, where the Unitarians, about fifty thousand in number, belonged and still belong to the denominations acknowledged by the state, and enjoy all civil rights. They have two high schools, at Klausenburg and at Thoarda; but are far from being distinguished for learning. See Meusel's *Staatengeschichte*, p. 555. *Lubienieci Historia Reformationis Polonicae*, etc. etc.

entirely confined to the higher classes; while even during this brilliant period, the peasantry remained in the lowest state of degradation, and *nothing* was done to elevate their minds or to better their condition. For it is to the clergy, that the common people have always to look as their natural and bounden teachers; it is to the clergy, that a low state of cultivation among the poorer classes is the most dishonourable. During this period, however, the opportunity was presented to the people of becoming better acquainted with the Scriptures, through several translations of them into the Polish language, not only by the different protestant denominations, but also by the catholics themselves. Indeed, all the translations of the Bible extant in the Polish language, are from the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶³ We meet also among the productions of the literature of this period, a few catechisms and postillae, written expressly for the instruction of the common people by some eminent Lutheran and reformed Polish ministers. But the want of means for acquiring even the most elementary information, was so great, that only a very few among the lower classes were able to read them. The doctrines of the Reformers, which everywhere else were favoured principally by the middle and lower classes, in Poland found their chief support

⁶³ An enumeration of the Polish versions of the Bible may be acceptable to the reader. The New Testament was first translated by the Lutheran Seklucyan, who was a Greek scholar, and printed at Königsberg 1551, three times reprinted before 1555. Afterwards for catholics by Leonard, from the Vulgate, reviewed by Leopolda, Cracow 1556. Of the Old Testament, the Psalter alone was several times translated and repeatedly printed. The whole Bible was first translated for the catholics by Leonard, from the Vulgate, and reviewed by Leopolda, Cracow 1561, reprinted in 1575 and 1577. Two years later by an anonymous translator from the original languages, for Calvinists, Brzesc 1563. Again from the original languages by Budny, an Unitarian clergyman, 1570, reprinted in 1572. From the Vulgate by the Jesuit Wuiek, Cracow 1599, reprinted at Breslau in 1740 in 8vo, and 1771 in 4to with the Latin text. From the original languages by Paliurus, Wengierscius, and Micolaeivius, for Calvinists, Dantzie 1632, the first Bible in 8vo, all the former being in fol. or 4to, reprinted at Amsterdam 1660, at Halle 1726, at Königsberg 1738, 1779, and at Berlin 1810, by the Bible Society. See Ringeltaube's *Nachricht von den polnischen Bibeln*, Danz. 1744. Bentkowski's *Hist. liter. pol.* Vol. II. p. 494. *Slovanka* Vol. I. p. 141. Vol. II. p. 228. Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slav.* Spr. p. 424.

among the nobility. Comparatively few of the people adhered to them. There was a time, between 1550 and 1650, when half the senate,⁶⁴ and even more than half of the nobility, consisted of Lutherans and Calvinists. In the year 1570, these two denominations, together with the Bohemian Brethren, formed a union of their churches by the treaty of Sandomir for external or political purposes. In 1573, by another treaty known under the name of *pax dissidentium*, they were acknowledged by the state and the king, and all the rights of the catholics were granted to the members of these three denominations, the Greeks, and Armenians. The want, however, of an accurate determination of their mutual relation to each other, occasioned repeatedly in the course of the following century bloody dissensions. The protestants succeeded, nevertheless, in maintaining their rights, until the years 1717 and 1718, when their number having gradually yet considerably diminished, they were deprived of their suffrages in the diet. Their adversaries went still farther; and after struggling against oppression of all sorts, the dissidents had at length, in 1736, to be contented

⁶⁴ The Polish senate was not a body, the members of which were elected for a certain term; as those not acquainted with the Polish constitution might be disposed to believe. It was composed of all the archbishops and bishops, the waiwodes and castellans, i. e. the titled nobility, and the principal ministers of the king. It was thus in some measure the organ of the government and of the clergy, in opposition to the national representatives or the mass of the nobility. This body was not established until towards the close of the fifteenth century. Before 1466—70, every nobleman who chose, made his personal appearance in the senate at the summons of the king; but Casimir, the son of Jagello, in his frequent want of money and men, repeated these summons so often, that the nobility found personal appearance inconvenient, and selected in their provincial conventions *nuntii*, to represent the nation, or rather the nobility; without however giving up the right of personal attendance. The *nuntii*, whose number was not fixed, were bound to appear, had the right to grant or to refuse duties, and to act as the advisers of the king. In 1505 the law was passed that without their consent the constitution could not be changed. At the diet in A. D. 1652 it occurred for the first time, that a single *nuntius* opposed and annulled by his *liberum veto* the united resolutions of the whole convention. On this example a regular right was very soon founded and acknowledged. Deputies of cities were occasionally invited to the diet, but only in extraordinary cases.

with being acknowledged as *tolerated sects*. After the accession of Stanislaus Poniatowsky to the throne in 1766, the dissidents attempted to regain their former rights. In this they were supported by several protestant powers; but more especially by Russia, who thus improved the opportunity of increasing its influence in Polish affairs. In consequence of this powerful support, the laws directed against the dissidents were repealed; and in 1775 all their old privileges were restored to them, except the right of being eligible to the stations of ministers of state and senators. In more recent times the protestants have been admitted to all the rights of the catholics; although the catholic is still the predominant religion of the kingdom of Poland.

We have permitted ourselves this digression, and anticipation of time; although we shall have an opportunity of again returning to this subject. The influence of protestantism on the literature of Poland cannot be denied, although its doctrines and their immediate consequence, the private examination and interpretation of the Scriptures, have occupied the minds and pens of the Poles less than those of any other nation among whom they have been received. We now return to the sixteenth century.

The Polish language acquired during this period such a degree of refinement, that even at the revival of literature and taste in modern times, it was necessary to add nothing for its improvement, although the course of time naturally had occasioned some change in it. Several able men occupied themselves with its systematic culture by means of grammars and dictionaries. Zabrowski, Statorius and Januscowski wrote grammars; Macynski compiled the first dictionary. The first part of Knapski's *Thesaurus*, an esteemed work even at the present day, was first published in 1621, and may therefore be considered as a production of this period. But the practical use, which so many gifted writers made of the language for a variety of subjects, contributed still more to its cultivation. The point which acquired less perfection, and which appeared the most difficult to subject to fixed rules, was that of orthography. How little the Latin alphabet is adapted to denote Slavic sounds, is evident in the Polish language. Indeed the reputed harshness of this language rests partly on the manner in which they were obliged to combine several consonants, which to the eye of the occidental European can only be united by intermediate vowels. On the other hand, it is just this system of letters which forms a connecting link be-

tween the Polish language and those of western Europe ; and although most Slavic philologists regret that the Latin alphabet ever should have been adopted for any Slavic language in preference to the Cyrillic, yet Grimm thinks that the adoption of the former, "with appropriate additions, corresponding to the peculiar sounds of each language and dialect, would have been beneficial to all European languages."⁶⁵

Although the art of printing was introduced into Poland as early as 1488, when the first printing office was established at Cracow, yet printed books first became generally diffused between the years 1530 and 1540. The first work printed in Poland was a calendar for the year 1490 ; the first book printed in the Polish language was Bonaventura's life of Jesus, translated for the queen of Hungary, and published in 1522. In the second half of the sixteenth century nearly every city, which had a considerable school, had also its printing office.⁶⁶ The schools were unfortunately confined to the cities ; nothing was done for the peasantry, who have remained even to the most recent times in a state of physical and moral degradation, with which that of the common people of no other country except Russia, can be compared. A peasant who could read or write, would have been considered as a prodigy. So much the more, however, was done for the national education of the nobility. In the year 1579 the university of Wilna was instituted ; in 1594, another university was created at Zamosc in Little Poland, by a private nobleman, the great chancellor Zamoyski ; which however survived only a few years, and perished in the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ Numerous other schools of a less elevated character were founded at Thorn, Danzig, Lissa, etc. most of them for protestants.

So early as under Casimir, the son of Jagello, the Polish language began to be employed as the language of the court. Under his grandson Sigismund Augustus, the public laws and decrees were promulgated in the vernacular tongue of the country. But a language which thus issued from the court, was necessa-

⁶⁵ Preface to Vuk's Servian Grammar, p. xxiii.

⁶⁶ See Schaffarik, p. 414. Bantkie's *Geschichte der Krakauer Buchdruckereyen*.

⁶⁷ It was afterwards reinstated in the form of a large gymnasium by one of chancellor Zamoyski's descendants, and removed to Szczerzeszyn. See *Letters on Poland*, Edinb. 1823, p. 95.

rily also dependent on the changes of the court. The influence of the French prince, Henry of Valois, successor of Sigismund Augustus, could not be considerable, as he occupied the throne only two months. But Stephen Bathory, prince of Transylvania, the brother-in-law of Sigismund Augustus, who was elected after Henry of Valois had deserted the country, was as a foreigner in the habit of interspersing his conversation and writings with Latin words, when the proper Polish words, of which language he had only an imperfect knowledge, did not occur to him. It is hardly credible that such a habit, or rather the imitation of it among his courtiers, could have had any influence on a language already so well established and cultivated, as the Polish idiom was at the close of the sixteenth century. The Polish literary historians, however, ascribe to Bathory's influence the fashion which began at this time to prevail, of debasing the purity of the Polish language by an intermixture of Latin words and phrases.⁶⁸

Although the Polish literature acquired during this period a kind of universality, and there were few departments of science, familiar to that age, which were not to some extent cultivated in it, yet it owes its principal lustre to the contributions made in it to history, poetry, and rhetoric. The didactic style did not reach the perfection of the historical; nor did Polish literature acquire any wide domain in purely scientific productions. In accordance with the national tendency, the mass of distinguished talents was devoted to those interests, which yield an immediate profit in life, or which are themselves rather the results of empirical knowledge, than of abstract contemplation, viz. to politics, to eloquence, and to poetry, in so far as this latter is considered not as a creative power, but as the most appropriate means for expressing and describing the emotions, passions, and actions of man. There have however always been not a few gifted Poles, who have cultivated the field of science for its own sake, without reference to the practical importance of their labours; and there are more especially at the present time many distinguished names among the Polish mathematicians, natural philosophers, and chemists. In Copernicus himself, born indeed of parents of German extraction, and in a city (Thorn) mostly inhabited by German colonists, but also born a Polish subject and educated in a Polish university, Poland and Germany seem to have equal

⁶⁸ See Schaffarik, p. 426.

rights.⁶⁹ The principal reason why didactic prose did not acquire the same high degree of cultivation as the historical style, is, that all scientific works during this period, which was that of the formation of the language, were written by preference in Latin. Indeed, the authority of the classical languages did not suffer at all from the rising of the national literature. It is on the contrary a remarkable fact, that the cultivation of the vernacular tongue of the country and the study of the Latin language in Poland, have ever proceeded with equal steps. The most eminent writers and orators of this period, who employed the Polish language, managed also the Latin with the greatest skill and dexterity. Even for common conversation, Latin and Polish were used alternately. Sigismund I, when separated from his first queen, Barbara Zapolska, maintained with her a correspondence in Latin; his second queen, Bona Sforza, used to employ that language in their most familiar intercourse.⁷⁰ Choisin, in his *Memoirs of the election of Henry of Valois*, observes, that among a hundred Polish noblemen, there were hardly to be found two, who did not understand Latin, German, and Italian; and Martin Kromer goes so far as to state, that perhaps in Latium itself fewer persons had spoken Latin fluently, than in Poland.⁷¹ The reputation of the Latin poet Casimir Sarbiewski, in Latin *Sarbivus*, spread throughout all Europe. Most

⁶⁹ Whether Copernicus is to be called a Pole or a German has been and is still a matter of dispute, and has been managed on the side of the Poles with the utmost bitterness and passion. The Poles have recently given expression to their claim upon him by erecting to him a monument at Cracow, and celebrating the third centennial anniversary of the completion of his system of the world, which took place in A. D. 1530. Let the question respecting Copernicus be decided as it may, Poland may doubtless lay claim to many other eminent natural philosophers as her sons; e. g. Vitellio-Ciolek, who was the first in Europe to investigate the theory of light, in the beginning of the thirteenth century; Brudzewski, the teacher of Copernicus; Martinus of Olkusz, the proper author of the new or Gregorian calendar, which was introduced sixty-four years after him, etc.

⁷⁰ See Macherszynski's *Geschichte der Lateinischen Sprache in Polen*, Cracow 1833. Dr Connor in his *History of Poland*, 1698, speaking of the following period, says, that even the common people in Poland spoke Latin, and that his servant used to speak with him in that language. See *Letters on Poland*, Edinb. 1823. p. 108.

⁷¹ *De originibus et rebus gestis Polonorum*, lib. XXX.

Polish poets were equally successful both in Polish and Latin verse. As the former language first developed itself in poetry, we therefore, in our enumeration of the principal writers of this time, begin with the poets.

Rey of Naglowic, d. 1569, is called the father of Polish poetry. Most of his productions are of the religious kind, chiefly in verse, but also orations and postillae. His chief work was a translation of the Psalms.⁷² His principal followers were the Kochanowskis, a name of threefold lustre. John Kochanowski, d. 1584; by far the most distinguished of them, published likewise a translation of David's psalms, which is still considered as a classical work; in his other poems, Pindar, Anacreon, and Horace were alternately his models, without diminishing the original value of his pieces.⁷³ His brother Andrew translated Virgil's *Aeneid*; his nephew Peter, with more talent and success, the great epics of Tasso and Ariosto. Rybinski maintains, as a lyric poet, in the opinion of several critics, the same rank with John Kochanowski; like him he wrote Polish and Latin verses, and was created poet laureate. Simon Szymonowicz, called Simonides, d. 1629, obtained likewise the poetical crown from the pope Clement VIII; indeed his Latin odes secured him a lasting fame over all Europe, and procured him the appellation of the Latin Pindar. In Polish he wrote mostly idylls, after the model of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus; but these, as their chief merit consists in the sweetness and delicacy of the language, only natives are able fully to appreciate.⁷⁴ The productions of his friend and cotemporary Zimorowicz, have the same general character, but are of less value in respect to diction. Other lyrical poets of merit may be named; e. g. the archbishop of Lemberg, Grochowski, a very productive writer; Czabrow-

⁷² *Psalterz Dawidow s modlitwami*, 1555.

⁷³ The Polish works of this great poet, who is still considered as the chief ornament of the Polish Parnassus, were first collected in four volumes, Cracow 1584—90. After going through several editions, they have recently been printed at Breslau, 1824, in a stereotype edition. Bowring gives among his 'Specimens' some of the sweetest pieces of Kochanowski.

⁷⁴ The oldest edition extant of his Polish pastorals, was printed at Zamoac, 1614, under the title *Sielanki*. They were last printed, together with other eclogues, in the collection of Mostowski, *Sielanki Polskie*, Warsaw 1805. There are some specimens of his poetry in Bowring's work.

ski, Klonowicz called also *Acernus*, and others.⁷⁵ As poets of a religious character we name here together, without reference to the denomination to which they belonged,—since most of the Polish poetical productions of this age were of a higher character than to suffer the intrusion of polemics,—Dambrowski, Bartoszewski, Miaskowski, whose hymns are considered as the finest of that period, Sudrovius, Turnowski and others. The age was also rich in satires and epigrams, Polish as well as Latin. Productions of this class by the two Zbylitowski, Pudlowski, Kraiewski, and a great many others, are still extant. The facility of rhyme in a language so rich in rhymes as the Polish, seduced several writers to use verse as a vehicle for the most trivial thoughts, or for subjects the very nature of which is opposed to poetry. Thus Paprocki of Glogol, who is highly esteemed as a diligent historian and accurate investigator of the past, wrote his numerous works on genealogy and heraldry mostly in rhyme.⁷⁶ Other historical poems were also written, which perhaps would not have been utterly deficient in merit, had they been transferred into prose.

Eloquence, so nearly related to poetry, and which nevertheless, perhaps on that very account, should be distinguished from it by the most definite limits, is a gift, the cultivation of which may be expected above all in a republic. The Poles possess indeed all the necessary qualities for public orators; and eminent talents not only for poetical eloquence, but also for the pulpit, are not uncommon among them. Gornicki, d. after 1591, Czernkowski, Odachowski, and others, but especially the first named, were considered as the most distinguished orators of the age. The eloquence of the pulpit was exhibited in its highest eminence by Skerga, court preacher of Sigismund III, whom his cotemporaries used to call the Polish Chrysostom; and by the learned Jesuit Wuiiek, who also translated the Bible into Polish.⁷⁷ The sermons and orations of both of them, besides numerous other theological productions, were published at the time. Oth-

⁷⁵ This latter was honoured by his countrymen with the title of the *Bohemian Ovid*; but his pieces, according to Bowring, are not only licentious, but also vulgar. See Specimen of the Polish Poets, p. 22.

⁷⁶ The same individual has been mentioned as a Bohemian writer; see above, p. 458.

⁷⁷ See note 63.

or theological writers of some distinction were, among the catholics, Stanislaus Karnkowski archbishop of Gnesen, Bierkowski who was Skarga's successor, Bialobrzewski, Kuczborski, the Jesuit Rosciszewski and others; among the protestants, Seklacyan the translator of the Polish Bible for protestants;⁷⁸ Koszowski of Żarnowec, Radomski, Gilowski, and Budny, one of the leaders of the Unitarians, who also translated the Bible into Polish from the original languages.⁷⁹ We must remark, that the Polish theological literature of this period evinced much less of a polemical spirit than might have been expected, in an age when that of the neighbouring countries, Bohemia and Germany, abounded in controversial books and pamphlets, replete with unchristian bitterness and doctrinal rigidity. For productions of this character we have to look in Poland to the following period. The wise moderation of the two Sigismunds and of Stephen Bathory, seems to have had a prodigious influence on the minds of the nation, to pacify them and keep them within appropriate limits.

History, especially national history, was justly considered as one of the subjects most worthy of human attention. History is the great school, in which nations appear as the pupils, experience as the teacher; and the fate of mankind depends on a wise application of the great moral lessons which they daily receive. Most of the Polish historians of this age preferred however the Latin language; but their productions are too intimately connected with Poland to be separated from its literature, and may therefore be named here. The Polish chronicle written by Matthew of Miechow, body physician to Sigismund I, and published in 1521, was the first historical work printed in Poland. Martin Kromer, bishop of Ermland or Warmia, called the Livy of Poland, Wapowski, Guagnini, an Italian, but naturalized and ennobled in Poland, and Piasecki, a protestant, distinguished for his frankness, wrote works on Polish history. Koialowicz wrote on that of Lithuania. They all wrote in Latin. The first who published an historical work in Polish was Martin Bielski, d. 1576. His chronicle of Poland, which is of high value in every respect, is written in a style so beautiful, that it was called *le style d'or*. His son Joachim continued this work, as far as to the reign of Sigismund III.⁸⁰ Another Polish chronicle, com-

⁷⁸ See note 63.

⁷⁹ See note 63.

⁸⁰ This work was first printed at Cracow in 1597, under the title

piled with more erudition than taste, was written by Strykowski, the author of numerous works on various subjects.

Other writers of merit—some of whom published original works on portions of history, while others translated the Latin volumes of their countrymen or those of classic historical authors—were, Wargocki, the Polish translator of Julius Cæsar, and other Roman writers; Orzechowski, also distinguished as an orator; Januszowski, Blazowski, Paszkowski, Cyprian Bazylik, and others. Works on tactics were published by the grand field-marshal Tarnowski, by Strubicz and Cielecki. Collections of statutes and laws were made by Herbart, Sapieha, Groicki, Sarnicki, and others.

It still remains to note the progress made in the philosophical sciences. We remarked above, that scientific works in Poland were mostly written in Latin; and since the case with them is different from that of historical works,—because, as the results of scientific examination and discovery, they are independent of the country where they are written, and belong to the world,—we therefore mention here only those works which were published in the Polish language. Falimierz, in Latin Phalimirus, first ventured to use the vernacular tongue of the country for a scientific book. He published as early as 1534 a work on natural history, and especially *materia medica*. The first medical work in the Polish language was written in 1541 by Peter of Kobylin; the first mathematical work by Grzebski. Their example was followed by Łatosz, Rosciszewski, Andrew of Kobylin, Umiasłowski, Spiczynski, Siennik, Oczko, Grutinius, Syrenski, in Latin Sirenijus, etc. all physicians, astronomers, botanists, etc.⁸¹

FOURTH PERIOD.

From the erection of the Cracovian Jesuit Schools in A. D. 1622, to the revival of science in A. D. 1760.

The noble race of the Jagellons had become extinct on the death of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572.⁸² Poland had become formally

Kronika Polska. The first part of it was republished at Warsaw in 1832, forming the sixth volume of the great collection of ancient Polish authors published by the bookseller Galezowski.

⁸¹ For more complete information respecting the writers of this period, see Bentkowski's *Hist. lit. Pol.* Vol. I. Schaffarik's *Geschichte*, etc.

⁸² We mean the direct male descendants of Jagello; for descen-

an elective monarchy. Henry of Valois was the first to subscribe the *pacta conventa*, the fundamental law of the national liberty; the nation being understood to consist legally only of the nobility.⁸³ Stephen Bathory's strength kept the discordant elements together, and while at home he took care to improve the administration of justice, and erected the high tribunals of Petricau, Lublin and Wilna, his victorious arms in his contest with Russia raised Poland for a short time to the summit of its glory. But under his successor Sigismund III, a Swedish prince, and nephew of Sigismund Augustus and of Stephen, began that anarchy which is to be considered as the principal cause of Poland's final calamitous fate. For about fifty years, the Poles still maintained with equal valour, though with alternate good and ill success, their warlike character abroad; even while internal dissensions and bloody party strife raged in their own unhappy country. But to such fundamental evils, combined with the rising power of Russia, with the revolt of the Kossaks in 1654 occasioned principally by religious oppression, and with the gradual but sure advancement of a new rival in the elector of Brandenburg, hitherto considered as a weak neighbour—to all these influences, the building thus sapped in its foundation could yield no resistance, and its walls could not but give way, when they were suddenly shaken by the hands of avaricious and powerful enemies from without.

The perversion of taste, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century reigned in Italy, and thence spread over all Europe, with much more rapidity indeed than the true poetry and pure style of the fifteenth century had done, created also in the literature of Poland a new period, which through the political cir-

dants by the female and collateral lines occupied the throne after Stephen Bathory. Poland had never been by law an hereditary kingdom; but in most cases one of the sons or brothers of the last king was elected.

⁸³ These *pacta conventa*, to which numerous articles were afterwards added, not only limited the king in his quality as king, but even also as a private man, in a degree to which no freeman would willingly submit. For example, he was not allowed to marry except with the consent of the diet; and as each single nuntius had the right to oppose and render void the resolutions of the united estates by his *liberum veto*, the king could not marry whenever it occurred to any one of them to withhold his consent. In 1669 it was resolved that no king should be allowed to abdicate.

circumstances above referred to, was protracted to a greater length than would have been expected in a literature already so rich in national models. To the remarkable activity of mind in the preceding period, there followed a literary lethargy. A very pernicious influence is also ascribed by the literary historians of Poland, to the Jesuits; although this order is in general disposed to favour the cultivation of science. Under Sigismund III, they were shrewd enough to make themselves gradually masters of nearly all the colleges; and after a long and obstinate struggle, even the university of Cracow had to submit. According to Bentkowski, it was principally by their influence, that the tone of panegyric and of bombast was introduced, which for nearly a hundred and fifty years disgraced the Polish literature. The tastelessness of this style reached its highest point under John Sobieski, when the panegyrics with which this victorious captain was hailed by his courtiers, became the model for all similar productions. The fashion first introduced at the close of the preceding period, of interspersing the Polish language with Latin words and phrases, became during the present more and more predominant; and was at length carried so far as to give even to Polish words a false Latin sound, by means of a Latin termination. French, German, and Italian forms of expression soon obtained the same right. But what was still worse, and what indeed affected the language most of all, was the fact, that even the natural structure and well established syntax of the Polish language had to give place to an injudicious imitation of foreign idioms. Thus the very circumstance of its great pliancy, one of its principal excellencies, became a source of its corruption. Poland, moreover, at a time when the minds of the rest of Europe were tolerably pacified in a religious respect, became the scene of theological controversies full of sophistry and bitterness, the natural consequence of the incipient oppression of the dissidents. The literature was overwhelmed with pamphlets, stuffed with a shallow scholastic erudition, and written in a style both bombastic and vulgar. But the influence of the Jesuits was not limited to literature and science; it had a still more unhappy result in its active consequences. Poland became also during this century the theatre of a religious persecution, less authorized by even the semblance of law than any which had before, or has since, occurred in other countries. The Arians or Unitarians, after having been for more than sixty years tacitly included in the general appellation of *dissidents*,

had to sustain between the years 1636 and 1656 the utmost rigour of oppression, and were finally banished from the country; and all this without having done any thing to forfeit their rights as dissidents, from which body they had to be formally expelled by the united hatred of the other protestants and catholics, before even a pretext could be devised of proceeding lawfully against them. Nor had the Lutherans, Calvinists, Greeks and Armenians, who after the exclusion of the Unitarians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, were alone comprized under the name of dissidents, given any occasion for that gradual deprivation which they had to encounter of their lawful rights, in the possession of which they had been a hundred and fifty years undisturbed. The storm which threatened them, first manifested itself publicly in the diets of 1717 and 1718, and degenerated at last into open and shameless persecution. In the year 1724, a quarrel arose at Thorn on occasion of a procession of the Jesuits, between the students of one of their schools, and those of the Lutheran gymnasium. A Lutheran mob intermeddled and committed some excesses; in consequence of which the Jesuit Wolanski, in the name of his order, instituted a lawsuit against the Lutheran magistracy of the city. The result of this lawsuit was a tragedy, such as only the bloody pages of the books of the inquisition can exhibit, and unequalled as to its motives in the annals of the eighteenth century. All the perpetrators were punished with the utmost rigour; while Rösner, the president of the city, together with eleven citizens, were publicly beheaded, and their property confiscated for the benefit of the order.

A body, which acted in such a spirit, placed at the head of public education, could exert but a very injurious influence in a moral and religious respect; its influence on the literature and language has been described above. The general mental paralysis and lethargy which reigned in Poland during this period, can indeed hardly be ascribed solely to their influence; but the latter served greatly to increase it. For more than twenty years all the schools in the whole country were in the hands of the Jesuits; and when in the year 1642 the congregation of the Piarists erected their first school in Warsaw, which soon was followed by several others founded by the same order, these seminaries had to struggle for nearly a century, watched and oppressed by the jealousy and despotism of the Jesuits, before they could acquire any influence consistent with the spirit in which they were founded. To the talents and firmness of Stanislaus

Konarski, himself a Piarist, the Polish literary historians ascribe the principal merits of the final victory of his order. His endeavours indeed were favoured by a combination of fortunate circumstances. Literature and the fine arts found a friend and protector in a gifted and accomplished king, and in several high minded noblemen of even more than regal authority. But the period of pedantry, perversion of taste, and deficiency of true criticism, had already lasted more than a hundred and thirty years. There was much to be done to cleanse the beds in the garden of literature from all the weeds which had luxuriated there, and to fertilize a soil which had so long lain fallow. The details of these endeavours belong however to the following period.

To the character of the theological literature of this age, we have above alluded. Among the protestant writers were Andrew and Adalbert Wengierski. The works of the latter gave occasion to the polemical discussions of the Jesuit Poszakowski, himself the author of a history of the Lutheran and of the Calvinistic creed, and of several other books. Other works on subjects of theology and education, or collections of sermons and devotional exercises, were published by the Jesuits Szczaniecki, Koialowicz, Sapecki, Poninski, Zulkiewski and others; and the Piarists Gutowski, Wysocki, Rosolecki and others. The Jesuit Niesiecki wrote a comprehensive biblio-biographical work of great merit, which is considered as one of the best sources for the inquirer in Polish history and literature.⁶⁴ Another Jesuit, Wiliuk Koialowicz, translated Tacitus' Annals into Polish, and wrote in Latin a history of Lithuania. Knapski, also a Jesuit, published a large dictionary or "Thesaurus," which is still highly esteemed. Lubienski, archbishop of Gnesen, wrote in 1740 the first detailed geography in the Polish language. One of the most productive writers on various subjects of theology, history, and politics, was Starowolski, who died in 1656. Fourteen of his forty-seven works are written in Polish, the rest in Latin. We mention further, as geographical and historical writers of some merit, the piarist Kola, professor Sakszewicz, Chodkiewicz, Niemir and Chwalkowski; and as a distinguished mathematician and scholar of general information, Broscius.

We conclude this period with the poets of that age; who, although perhaps they exhibited more talent than the cotemporary prose writers, must necessarily, from the nature of poetry,

⁶⁴ *Korona Polska*, Lemberg 1728, 1743.

have suffered more from the predominant tastelessness of the time. Twardowski, d. 1660, must be named first; a poet of splendid gifts, but of an impure, bombastic, rhetorical style, the author of numerous lyrical and epic poems of very unequal value. After him come Vespasian Kochowski, the best lyric poet of the age; Gawinski, a very productive author, whose pastorals have been collected by Mostowski, together with those of Kochanowski, Simonides, and other classical poets; and Wenceslaus Potocki, the author of novels, poetry, and more especially epigrams, not without merit, but frequently licentious and indelicate. Among the poets of this age who are in some measure distinguished by Polish critics, we find also a lady, Elizabeth Drużbacka, a poetess of high rank, but without a literary education or a knowledge of foreign languages, though not without natural gifts. Satires were written by Dzwonowski and Opalinski; historical and didactic poems by Bialabocki, prince Jablonowski, and by Leszczynski, father of king Stanislaus Leszczynski. Ovid was translated by Żebrowski and Otfinowski; Lucan's *Pharsalia* by Chroscinski, who versified also portions of the Bible; and again with more fidelity and skill by the Dominican monk Bardzinski. Other poets of this age were, prince Lubomirski, who on account of his wealth and wise sayings is styled the Polish Solomon; prince Wisniowiecki, who published whole poems without the letter *r*, because he could not pronounce that letter; Bratkowski, the author of a series of happy epigrams; Falibogowski, Szymonowski, the Jesuits Ignés and Poniatowski, and others.

FIFTH PERIOD.

From Stephen Konarski, A. D. 1760, to the present time.

The Polish language, at the beginning of this period, was in a melancholy state; it was, to use Schaffarik's expression, stripped of its natural gifts of perspicuity, simplicity, and strength, deformed by tastelessness, and grown childish and obsolete at the same time. It was a fortunate circumstance that, just at the time when several of the most powerful Polish noblemen began to feel an intense and patriotic interest in their language,—the king Stanislaus Augustus and his uncle prince Czartoryski at their head,—there awoke a number of gifted minds, who scattered so rich a seed in the long deserted though still fertile soil,

that the field of Polish literature soon flourished and bore fruit again. The establishment of the *Monitor*, a periodical work,²⁵ to which the best and ablest men of Poland contributed, first exerted a happy influence on the language. Of still more importance in this respect was the establishment of a national stage, at the head of which were distinguished and well qualified men. But the measure which produced more effect than any other, was the appointment of a Department of Education, resolved upon by the diet of 1775. Public instruction was thus made one of the great concerns of the government itself; and the power of the Jesuits, which had been for some time on the decline, was finally annihilated. The rich income of this order was henceforth entirely set apart for the benefit of learned institutions, to which free access was given. The provincial or departmental schools throughout the whole kingdom received a new organization on a different plan; and the university of Cracow resumed again its former rights. In respect to the instruction and melioration of the situation of the common people, we find as yet no attention whatever paid to these important subjects. It was not until 1807, or the foundation of the duchy of Warsaw under the administration of the king of Saxony, that the lower classes obtained their rights as men; and unfortunately even then without the power of availing themselves of these rights. Stanislaus Augustus, however, and some of his advisers and counsellors, acted with an honest will and noble intention; and by promoting the general interests of mankind in literature and science, did much for the social improvement of their own country.

Meanwhile this unhappy country was the scene of the most violent party struggles; during which the heads of the parties conducted themselves with the most revolting selfishness, and an entire forgetfulness of all political consequences and of their own moral responsibility. The fanaticism of the bishops of Cracow and Warsaw refused to the dissidents the restoration of their rights; and Russia thus acquired the first pretext for intermeddling with Polish affairs. In the course of a few years, Poland was reduced to that torn and broken state, which induced Catharine II to consider it as a country "where one needed only to stoop, in order to pick up something." For a short time this course of things even seemed to be favourable to literature.

²⁵ In 1764; it was the first periodical ever published in Poland.

The minds of men were in a state of excitement, which gave them power to produce the greatest and most extraordinary things. But a reaction very naturally followed. After twenty years of mental and political struggles and combats, to sustain which claimed the whole united powers of mind and soul,—twenty years richly productive in every respect—there followed a mental calm, an intellectual blank, of more than twelve years. It was, as if with the political dissolution of the kingdom, with the annihilation of the unity of the nation, this latter had sunk back into a state of intellectual paralysis. The interval from A. D. 1795 to A. D. 1807, in comparison with the years which preceded and have followed, was remarkably poor in productions of value. The literature of translations rose in an undue proportion, and the purity of the language suffered considerably. The government of the duchy of Warsaw acted on wise and truly humane principles; and during the short period between 1807 and 1812, all was done for the improvement of the country, which the unfortunate circumstances of the case permitted. Under this administration the number of schools rose from 140 to 634; a commission was instituted for procuring the publication of appropriate books of instruction in the Polish language; and several similar measures were taken for advancing the best interests of the country. The constitution of the new kingdom of Poland in 1815, entered essentially into the same views; and was in every respect favourable to the developement of the mental faculties of the nation. The modern kingdom of Poland embraced, indeed, not much more than the sixth part of the vast territory which under the Jagellons had constituted the kingdom of that name. Before the cessions at Andrussov in the year 1667, the ancient kingdom contained sixteen millions of inhabitants; the census of the modern kingdom in 1818, counted only 2,734,000. But that the population of this exhausted country increased during the Russian administration,—especially in consequence of the encouragement given to foreign colonists, the establishment of manufactures which furnished means of support for the lower classes, and other similar measures,—is apparent from the results of the census of 1827, according to which the kingdom then contained 3,705,000 inhabitants.⁸⁶

In the field of science and literature the nobility had at length found rivals among the free citizens; and the courts of these temples were now, through the erection of village schools, made

⁸⁶ See page 475 above.

accessible even to the peasant, who was, in name at least, no longer a degraded slave.⁸⁷ If the Russian government in Poland had been exercised in practice, according to the same principles on which it was founded; if Alexander's first intentions had been practically executed in the same spirit in which the happiness of his Polish subjects had been theoretically planned; perhaps it would have been less difficult to reconcile the minds of the Poles to the loss of their independence as a nation, which they justly consider as an inestimable good. We have here no concern with politics, except so far as they have a necessary influence on the state of general cultivation; or so far as they give birth to important occasional appearances in the republic of letters. If considered in the first point of view, it is not to be denied, that the Polish nation since the foundation of the *constitutional* Russian kingdom of Poland in 1815, has made more progress towards social improvement, and has advanced more towards a state of equality in a mental and intellectual respect with the countries of middle Europe, viz. Germany, France and England, than during the whole vast period of their previous existence. For most of these improvements, however, the preparation had already been made, in the last ten years before the dissolution of the republic. The emancipation of the serfs, who comprised the whole peasantry, one of the fundamental laws of the duchy of Warsaw in 1807, was confirmed at the creation of the kingdom of Poland in 1815. In the diet of the kingdom,

⁸⁷ The Polish serfs were indeed never regular slaves; but merely *glebae adscripti*, i. e. they could not be sold separately as mere things, but only with the soil they cultivated, which they had no right to leave. They were not reduced even to this state before the fifteenth or sixteenth century; for one of the statutes of Casimir the Great allows them the privilege of selling their property and leaving whenever they were ill-treated. Of the present state of the Polish peasantry, the author of "Poland under the dominion of Russia," (Bost. 1834,) says: "The Polish peasant might perhaps be about as free, as my dog was in Warsaw; for I certainly should not have prevented the animal from learning, had he been so inclined, some tricks by which he could earn the reward of an extra bone. The freedom of the wretched Polish serfs is much the same as the freedom of their cattle; for they are brought up with as little of human cultivation," etc. p. 165. And again: "The Polish serf is in every part of the country extremely poor, and of all the living creatures I have met with in this world, or seen described in books of natural history, he is the most wretched," p. 176.

not only the nobility and the government, but also the cities and smaller communities had their own representatives; and all christian denominations acquired equal political rights. To the universities of Cracow, Wilna, and Lemberg,⁶⁸ there was added in 1818 a fourth at Warsaw. The kingdom of Poland contained in 1827, in each of its eight waiwodships, a palatine school, and besides this three other institutions for the higher branches of education; fourteen principal department schools, and nine for sub-departments; several professional seminaries for miners, teachers, agriculturists, and others; a military academy, a school for cadets, and a number of elementary schools, both private and public.⁶⁹ The Russian-Polish provinces, i. e. the part of Poland united with Russia in the three successive dismemberments of Poland, participate in all the means of education which the Russian empire affords; the province of West Prussia and the grand duchy of Posen, in those of the kingdom of Prussia, where an enlightened government has made, as is generally acknowledged, the mental improvement of the lower classes one of its principal objects. The Austrian kingdom of Galicia had in the year 1819 two lyceums, twelve gymnasiums, several

⁶⁸ Lemberg indeed can hardly be called a Polish university. All its professors are Germans, and the lectures are delivered in Latin or German. It has only three faculties, viz. the philosophical, theological and juridical. For medicine it has only a preparatory school, the course being finished at Vienna. Among the 65 medical students of 1832, there were 41 Jews. The university had in that year, in all, 1291 students. For the theological and juridical courses, which, according to law, comprise each four years, a previous preparation of two years spent in philosophical studies is required by the government. Thus the regular course of an Austrian student lasts six years. The same measures were taken to Germanize Cracow, during the Austrian administration; but when in 1815 Cracow became a free city, it parted with all its German professors and became again a genuine Polish university.

⁶⁹ From the account given of the state of the Polish common people in note 87 above, we must conclude that this number is very small. Mr Ljach Szyrma, the author of *Letters on Poland*, (Edinb. 1823,) says: "The lower classes, unfortunately, do not enjoy the advantage of being proportionally benefited by the learning requisite to their social condition. The parish schools are not sufficient to improve them in this respect; and the village schools, upon which their hopes chiefly rest, are not numerous." p. 144.

other institutions for education of different names and for specific purposes, and also numerous elementary schools. The catholic religion is here the only reigning one; although the protestants, who here are still comprised under the name of dissidents, are tolerated.

The literary activity of the Polish nation occupied in 1827 not less than sixty printing offices and twenty booksellers. Of the latter fifteen were in Warsaw, the rest scattered over all the province formerly belonging to Poland. At Warsaw alone, five daily political papers, and one weekly, were published in the Polish language; besides these there existed only five, viz. one in each of the four larger cities, Cracow, Lemberg, Wilna, and Posen, and a fifth at St. Petersburg. There are other periodicals for scientific objects published at Warsaw; while in the other cities the German publications of that character are chiefly read. The periodical published by the national institution, called after count Ossolinski, at Lemberg, is however considered as the most important in the Polish language.

The high spirit of the Polish nation, and that glowing patriotism for which they are so distinguished, has induced them during the period of their unnatural partition and amalgamation with foreign nations, to devote more zeal than ever to the sole national tie which still binds together the subjects of so many different powers—their language. There have been numerous learned societies founded, among which above all the society of the friends of science at Warsaw, to whom the most eminent men of the nation belong, must be distinguished. Academies of arts and sciences have been established, and associations formed for various scientific purposes. The influence of all these institutions, more especially that of the above mentioned society at Warsaw, has been very favourably employed in limiting that of the French and German languages, naturally induced by political circumstances.

The French language indeed, independently of the political events of modern times, had already acted powerfully on the Polish at the close of the preceding and the beginning of the present period. In poetry, the affected bombastic school of the Gongorists and Marinists had been supplanted throughout all Europe by the better taste of the cold, stiff, and formal French poets, whose defects it was much easier to imitate than their merits. For more than half a century the French language reigned with an uncontrolled and unlimited sovereignty over all

the literary world. But its most absolute dominion was in Poland. In the manners of the nobility of this country, French gracefulness and ease were, in a peculiar and interesting manner, blended with the daring heroism of the knight and the luxuriousness of the Asiatic despot. French refinement and French witticism covered the rudeness and revelry characteristic of the middle ages. French teachers and governesses had inundated the whole country, and a journey to France was among the requisite conditions of an accomplished education. The Polish writers—all of them belonging to the nobility—to whom from their youth the French language was equally familiar with their own, unconsciously disfigured the latter by Gallicisms; since French forms of expression seemed to be the best adapted for the expression of French thoughts and French philosophy. Long after the rest of literary Europe had shaken off the yoke, the Polish poets, although the genius of their rich, creative, and phant language was decidedly opposed to such a slavery, continued to submit to French rules and laws, and do so partly still. But the different character of the language and of the nation, impresses nevertheless a very different stamp on the Polish poetical literature.

We begin the enumeration of the distinguished writers of this period with its principal founder, Stephen Konarski, who was born A. D. 1700 and died in 1773. In his seventeenth year he entered the order of Piarists, and became later a professor in the college of this congregation at Warsaw. After a long stay in Italy and France, he returned to Poland; accompanied king Stanislaus Leszczynski to Lorrain; but again returned to his country and founded several institutions for education in Warsaw, Wilna and Lemberg, on principles different from those of the Jesuits. In the year 1747 he went a third time to France, but returned after three years; and from that time devoted himself entirely to the literary and mental reform of his own country. Of his printed works, twenty-eight in number, fourteen are written in Polish. They embrace different topics in poetry, and a tragedy; but his principal merits lie in his writings on the subject of politics and education.⁹⁰ After him we name the illustrious philosopher Stanislaus Leszczynski. Most of

⁹⁰ His works, which have never been collected, are enumerated in Bentkowski's History of Polish literature. Konarski was the first who ventured publicly to assail the *Liberum veto*.

his works, on politics and ethics, were written in French; in the Polish language he wrote, besides one or two other works, a history of the Old and New Testaments in verse.⁹¹ Zaluski, known more especially by the foundation of a large and celebrated library, in which he spent an immense fortune, and which he finally made over to his country,⁹² was the friend of king Stanislaus and of Konarski. In possession of an extraordinary amount of knowledge, and a very extensive erudition, which however he owed more to his remarkable memory than to any distinguished capacity, he wrote a large number of Latin and Polish books on literary and biographical subjects and on poetry; in all which the genius of the preceding period still reigns. Another nobleman of high rank who distinguished himself by his patriotism and erudition, was Wenceslaus Rzewuski, waiwode of Podolia, and contemporary with Zaluski, whom he surpassed however in critical taste and productive powers. His translation of the Psalms is highly esteemed. A still higher name as a patron of literature and the arts, is the uncle of king Stanislaus Augustus, prince Adam Czartoryski. He was marshal of the diet in 1764, when the ill famed *liberum veto* was abolished, which gave to every deputy singly the right of overthrowing the otherwise unanimous resolutions of the diet, and thus was the principal cause of the lawless disorder which disgraced the sessions of this body. His merits as a statesman and a Mæcenas, are equal. Several historical works designed to advance the honour of Poland, were published under his care and at his instigation. Amid all his numerous avocations, he found time to write several pieces for the national stage, which, as a promoter of the purity of the language, was a subject of his particular care and attention.⁹³ By the side of the name of Czartoryski, shines that of Potocki. More than one member of this illustrious family had in former times ac-

⁹¹ Nancy 1733.

⁹² This celebrated library was transferred to St. Petersburg at the dismemberment of Poland, and has not yet been restored.

⁹³ The Czartoryskis may justly be called the Polish Medici, from the liberal patronage which the accomplished members of this family have ever given to talent and literary merit. Their celebrated seat, Pulawi, the subject of many songs and also of an episode in Delfille's *Jardins*, was destroyed by the Russians in the late war, and its literary treasures are said to have been carried to St. Petersburg.

quired the right of citizens in the republic of letters. Count Paul Potocki and his grandson Anthony, in the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, were both equally celebrated for their talents. The works of the former were published by count Zahuski, under the title of *Genealogia Potockiana*; the speeches and addresses of the latter, are partly printed in Daneykowicz' *Suada Polona*, and were in their time considered as models. But the most elevated rank in this family is occupied by the two brothers Ignatius and Stanislaus Koska Potocki, whether as patriots and statesmen, or as writers and patrons of science. Ignatius, besides promoting several literary undertakings, and bearing the expenses of more than one journey for the purposes of science and learning, was himself a distinguished writer. He translated Condillac's work on logic, and introduced it into the Polish schools as a class book. His merits in respect to public education are great; he was one of the most urgent promoters of the emancipation of the serfs; and at his death in the year 1809, he left behind the reputation of a true friend of the people. His brother Stanislaus Koska, although entertaining the same political principles, did not take the same active part during the struggles of the Poles for their expiring independence; he retired to Austria after the king had joined the confederation of Targowicz, and there devoted himself entirely to his studies. In 1807 he returned to his country, and there as president of the department for schools and education, he found means to carry out his enlightened views and benevolent intentions for the good of his country. At the foundation of the kingdom of Poland in 1815, he was made minister of public instruction, and was always found at the head of every noble and patriotic undertaking. From his oratorical powers, he was called *princeps eloquentias*. In respect to genius he was above his brother; although the latter seems to have surpassed him in energy of character. His principal work, "on Style and Eloquence," was published in 1815; another work of value is his translation of Winkelmann's book on ancient art, which he accompanied by illustrations and remarks, but did not finish. His influence on Polish literature was decided.⁹⁴ Another nobleman, distinguish-

⁹⁴ The title of the former work is: *O wymowie i stylu*, Warsaw 1815—16. Another work is *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy*, i. e. Eulogies, Speeches and Essays, among which are nine on Polish literature, Warsaw 1816. Stanislaus Potocki was also the principal

ed as an orator and political writer, was Hugo Kollantay, count Sztumberg, who published together with Ignatius Potocki a history of the constitution.

At the head of the historical writers of Poland stands however Naruszewicz, the faithful translator of Tacitus, whose style he adopted also in his original works. His history of the Polish nation is considered as a standard work ; as a production, which in respect to erudition, philosophical conception, and style, is the *chef d'œuvre* of Polish literature, and would be one of the chief ornaments of that of every nation. The six volumes of this work comprise only the period between A. D. 965 and 1386, beginning with the second volume ; as for the first, which waste have contained the earliest history of Poland, he intended to have executed it afterwards, and had indeed collected all the necessary materials, but was prevented by death. The Warsaw Society of Friends of Science published it thirty years after his death, and endeavoured to engage the principal talents of Poland in the continuation of his work. This was done in such a way, that each writer was to undertake the history of the administration of a single king ; and at last, after each work had appeared separately, the society was to make a collection of the whole, and, if necessary, cause it to be rewritten. Several able men have devoted themselves to this work. The plan of the society, which by its very nature excluded all unity of character, seems to have met with more approbation than, according to our opinion, it deserved. The Polish public is however indebted to it for more than one valuable work on history, to which it gave birth. Naruszewicz had collected for this work a library of materials, in 360 folio volumes. He wrote also a history of the Tartars, a biography of the Lithuanian captain Chodkiewicz, and was admired as a poet. He died in 1796, it is said of grief at the fate of his unhappy country.

Naruszewicz was educated by the Jesuits, and was himself of that order until its dissolution. He died as bishop of Luck. In respect to time he stands as the first eminent writer of a new period, just on the verge of the past ; and even his warmest admirers do not deny that he participated, in some slight degree, in the

mover in the publication of the splendid work : *Monumenta regum Poloniae Cracoviensia*, Warsaw 1822. Stanislaus Kostka P. must not be confounded with Stanislaus Felix P. his cousin, one of the most obstinate advocates of the ancient constitution and its corruptions, who sold his country to Russia.

character of that past, by a certain inclination to panegyric and a flowery style. But in energy and richness of thought he far surpasses all his predecessors, and has not yet been reached by any who have written after him.⁹⁵

Another historical work of value on Poland, was edited by Lelewel. The history of Poland by Waga, in the want of a more suitable work, had been in use as a class book in the Polish schools for more than fifty years. Lelewel, in order to improve its popularity, took this book as a foundation, but completely recast it, divided the history of Poland according to a plan perfectly new, completed the work, and published it under Waga's name. His rich additions regard chiefly the legislature, statistics, and the cultivation of the country. His very division of the history of Poland, into Poland conquering, Poland divided, Poland flourishing, and Poland on the decline, seems to indicate the political tendency of his work, and his desire to impress upon the Polish youth the great moral lessons which history presents.

Another history of Poland of more extent was published by Bantkie. Lelewel said of the second edition of this book, which appeared in 1820, that "a more perfect work in this department did not exist."

One of the most remarkable writers of his time on history and bibliography, was the Jesuit Albertrandy, who besides being the author of several historical works and treatises, was indefatigable in collecting materials for the history of his country. He went to Italy, and here gathered during a stay of three years a hundred and ten folio volumes of extracts, entirely written with his own hand. He then went to Stockholm and Upsal, where the most important manuscripts relative to Poland are deposited. The Swedish government was narrow-minded enough, to allow him access to their libraries only on condition of his not taking any written notes. But Albertrandy had so remarkable a memory, that he was able to make up for this disadvantage, by writing down every evening all that he had read during the day, and added in this way not less than ninety folio volumes to his library of manuscripts.

⁹⁵ His complete works are to be found in the great collection of count Mostowski, Warsaw 1804—5, 12 volumes. They appeared in 1824 at Breslau in a stereotype edition, in six volumes. Poetical works, Wars. 1778.

Portions of Polish history or subjects belonging to it were treated with success by the poet Niemcewicz; by Bentkowski, Kwiatkowski, Soltykowicz, Surowiecki, Lelewel, Onacewicz, the counts Ossolinski and Czaki, the former distinguished by learning and critical discernment, the latter the author of an esteemed history of the Polish and Lithuanian laws; by Maiewski, Siarczynski, and others. The princess Isabella Czartoryski intended her "*Pilgrim of Dobromil*," to be a book of historical instruction for the common people. Abridgements of Polish history were given by Miklaszewski and Falenski. The historical songs written by Niemcewicz, at the instigation of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Science, are also to be considered as belonging to history, as well as to poetry, since they are accompanied by valuable historical illustrations. The same author wrote *Memoirs on ancient Poland*. Turski translated the memoirs of Chobisain on the administration of Henry of Valois; and the memoirs of Michael Oginski, *Sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1788 jusqu'en 1815*, are a valuable contribution to the history of our time. The modern periodicals likewise contain many well written historical essays, some of them of decided importance. This is especially true of the *Memoirs of Warsaw*, and also of *Lemberg*, the *Scientific Memoirs*, the *Wiles and Warsaw Journals*, the *Bee of Cracow*, the *Ant of Poznanie*, and others.

We have remarked above, as a characteristic of the Polish literature, that although Poland has always been rich in talents of every description, yet its literary contributions have aimed less at the advancement of science in general, than to exalt the glory of the Polish name, and thus have an immediate reflexive influence on the nation. In the same spirit, the history of other countries has received little attention, not excepting even ancient history. Poland indeed does not possess a single distinguished work on foreign history; and their Gibbons and Robertsons seem ever to have been absorbed in their own patriotic interests. As writers of merit on universal history and its auxiliary branches, we may mention Cajetan and Vincent Skrzetuski, count John Potocki, Bohusz, Jedlowski, Sowinski, prince Sapieha, count Berkowski, and above all Lelewel, whose work on the discoveries of the Carthaginians and Greeks has been translated into German, (A. D. 1832,) accompanied by an introduction from the celebrated Ritter.

The Polish language, the purity of which at the beginning of

the present period was an object of particular attention, has in our own century been the subject of numerous learned inquiries, some of which have added considerably to the light thrown in modern times by Slavic-German scholars upon the Slavic languages and Slavic history in general. Lінде, besides several other philological and historical writings, has enriched Slavic literature with a comparative critical dictionary in six volumes, which is considered as one of the standard works of the language. Bantkie, the author of several historical and bibliographical works of great merit in the Polish, Latin, and German languages, has written a Polish grammar and Polish-German dictionary. Rakowiecki prepared a new edition of the *Jus Russorum*, introduced by a critical preface, and accompanied with many explanatory notes. We must however, take this occasion to remark, that the Polish critics in general, although perhaps in every other respect qualified as sagacious and impartial judges, are by no means infallible on subjects which have any relation to their own country. The glory and honour of their own nation are always with them the principal objects, to which not seldom the impartiality of a scientific inquirer, and even historical truth, is unscrupulously sacrificed. Maiewski wrote a book rich in ideas on the Slavi;* bibliographical works, and books on the literary history of Poland have been published by Chroninski, Sowinski, Juszynski, count Ossolinski, Szumski, and more especially by Bentkowski.⁹⁶ Count Stan. Potocki's works contain likewise a number of articles on Polish literature. In the previous periods, all bibliographical works were written in Latin.

The eminent talent of the Poles for eloquence, enjoyed, during the early part of this period and before the dissolution of the republic, the best possible opportunity for development, among the intellectual struggles and combats occasioned by the political circumstances of the country and the discussion of new political theories. The constitutional diet of 1788—1791 exhibited a rich store of oratorical talent. The names of the Potockis, Sapieha, Czartotyski, Kollantay, Matuszewicz, Niemcewicz, Sekyk, Kietalski, and others, were known with distinction all over the world. The eloquence of the pulpit was of course

* *O Slavianach i ich pobratymcach*, Warsaw 1816.

⁹⁶ Bentkowski's *Historiya literatury Polsk*. Wars. 1814, contains a catalogue of all works published on Polish literature, to 1814; see Vol. I. p. 1—73.

much less cultivated in a nation which lives chiefly in politics. Lachowski, a Jesuit and court preacher of the last king, is by the Poles considered as a very distinguished preacher, although according to German judges he was shallow and voluble; and was surpassed by his cotemporary Wyrwicz, and above all by Karpowicz. Prażmowski, Jakubowski, Woronicz bishop of Warsaw, Szianawski, Szweykowski, Zacharyaszewicz, and others, are esteemed as powerful preachers.

Besides the oratorical powers and the historical productions of the Poles, the reputation of their modern literature rests chiefly on poetry. Although the Polish poets adhered longer to the strict rules of Boileau than the rest of Europe, and have only in the most recent times chosen better models in the Germans and English—without however having been able to free themselves entirely from their French chains—yet the national genius of their language has often conquered the artificial restraints of narrow rules and arbitrary laws. Naruscewicz, the celebrated historian, occupies also a distinguished rank as a poet. He translated Anacreon and some of Horace's odes; but wrote still more original pieces, odes, pastorals, epigrams, satires, and a tragedy entitled 'Guido.' The most distinguished poet under Stanislaus Augustus was Krasicki, bishop of Ermeland or Warmia, and later of Gnesen, the Polish Voltaire. His principal works are an epic under the title of *Woyna Chocimska*, or 'War of Chocim,' and three comic epics, one of which, *Monachomachia*, ridicules the monkish system and exhibits its absurdity in strong colours. He wrote this poem at the suggestion of Frederic the Great, to whose coterie of literary friends he belonged. His great heroic epic is considered by his countrymen as a standard work; while foreigners look at it as a valuable historical poem indeed, but as utterly deficient in true epic power and original invention. His smaller poems and prose writings are replete with wit and spirit; and as a prose writer he appears as one of the few who were not blind to the defects and follies of their countrymen. Of his translations we mention Ossian and Plutarch.⁹⁷ Trembecki, d. 1812, as a lyric poet, takes equal rank, according to some Polish critics, with Krasicki. His chief poem, *Zofiowka*, which has been

⁹⁷ Krasicki's complete works were published by Dmochowski, Warsaw 1803—4. A stereotype edition appeared at Breslau in 1824.

translated into French by La Garde, is of that descriptive, contemplative kind, which was fashionable in his day. Szymanowski, d. 1801, a writer of pastorals, is distinguished for delicacy and sweetness. As to the beauty of his diction his countrymen are the best judges; but as for the character and real poetical value of his productions, we doubt whether the sounder taste of our day would relish the whole species so highly as was done at a time, when the forms of society had reached the very summit of artificial perversion. A certain longing after nature and its purity was the necessary result of such a state of things; but even nature itself they were unable to see, except in an artificial light. The Polish productions of this species in the present period, savour strongly of the French school; whilst the pastorals of the sixteenth century hover in the midst between the bucolics of the ancients and the Italian and Spanish eclogues. There was the same decided influence of the French literature on Wengierski, who died in 1787; although less in respect to taste than to morals. Karpinski, also a writer of pastorals, approaches nearest the Greeks, and is on the whole a poet of uncommon talent. All his original writings bear a strong national stamp. His translation of Racine's *Athalie* is considered as a master piece, and his version of the Psalms has not been surpassed in any language. Another distinguished poet is Książniński, remarkable for a certain external freshness, which imparts life to all his productions. He was educated in the college of the Jesuits at Witebsk, and it was during his whole life a matter of regret to him that he "had lost the golden season of his youth, and wasted the labour of sleepless nights on irksome trifles." Notwithstanding this learned education, the author of the *Letters on Poland* finds between him and Burns a kind of analogy. Książniński's principal fame rests on a ludicrous heroic called the 'Balloon.'

The following are further regarded among their countrymen as poets of the first rank, viz. Niemcewicz, Brodzinski, bishop Woronicz, and Mickiewicz. Niemcewicz is also known by his political fortunes and influence, and is equally esteemed as an historian and for his poetical talents. The eloquence which he exhibited in the diet of 1788—92, as the *nuntius* or deputy of Lithuania, laid the foundation of his fame. When his country was lost, after having fought at the side of Kosciuszko and shared his fate as a prisoner, he accompanied this great man to America, where he associated with Washington, whose life he has

since described. His eulogy on Kosciuszko is considered as a masterpiece. His principal works are his historical songs, his dramas, and his "Reign of Sigismund III." Whatever he writes evinces eminent talents; as to which his friends only deplore that he has scattered them so much, or, according to the expression of the author of the Letters on Poland, that "his genius was too eager in embracing at once so much within its potent grasp, and thus, instead of concentrating his powers, lessened their brilliant beams, by diffusing them over too wide a horizon."⁹⁸

John Woronicz, bishop of Cracow, and afterwards of Warsaw, whom we have named above as one of the most eloquent preachers, is equally celebrated as a poet. His productions all have a character of dignity and loftiness, and, with the exception of some religious hymns, are devoted to the historical fame of his country. His "Sybil," in which he conjures up in succession the ancient Polish kings from their graves to behold the cruel state of their once triumphant country, and the "Lechiade," an epic, which Schaffarik considers as the best Polish production of this species, are his principal works. The inclination of the Polish poets to celebrate and exalt their own country and the heroic deeds of their ancestors, without even admitting the possibility of rivalry on the part of any other nation, can easily be accounted for; while to foreign critics, the same poems which inspire Polish readers with patriotic enthusiasm, often appear pompous and void of that simplicity, which is the true source of the sublime.

Caŝimir Brodziński is an eminent original poet, and an admirable translator. His poetry is pervaded by a character of

⁹⁸ P. 221. Niemcewicz's works have not yet been collected. Of his *Spiewy historyczne*, or 'Historical Songs,' Warsaw 1819, Bowring gives some specimens. These songs were set to music by distinguished Polish composers, especially ladies, and on account of their deep patriotic interest, have reached a higher degree of popularity than any other Polish work. They were written at the instigation of the Warsaw "Society of Friends of Science." Besides his two historical works, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III*, or Reign of Sigismund III, Warsaw 1819, and *Zbior pamietnikow*, etc. a collection of unprinted documents, Wars. 1822; and his large historical novel *Jan z Teczynej*, Wars. 1825; Niemcewicz published *Leyba i Szora*, or Letters of Polish Jews, Wars. 1821, presenting a good illustration of their situation. His most recent production, an elegiac poem, was published at Leipzig 1822. See below.

strong and decided nationality, and Bowring says of him: "If any man can be considered the representative of Polish feelings, and as having transfused them into his productions, Brodzinski is certainly the man." He has translated Ossian, and first introduced Scott's masterpieces into the literature of Poland.

Mickiewicz is the youngest of the Polish writers of celebrity, and owes his reputation as a poet of eminent talent chiefly to three small volumes of miscellaneous poetry, first published about ten years ago. To these a fourth was added in 1833, in which were deposited the riper productions of his manhood; whilst the earlier ones contained the beautiful effusions of his youthful feelings.⁹⁹

But the series of Polish poets who have manifested more than common talent, is too long to permit us to enumerate them all; and even a complete catalogue of their names must not be expected in these pages, which are devoted merely to a historical view of the *whole* literature, and to individuals only so far as they go to form characteristic features of the physiognomy of the former. The "Dictionary of Polish poets," published in 1820 by Juszynski, describes the lives of not less than 1400 individuals, independently of course of their poetical worth. We confine ourselves to presenting some of the most distinguished names in addition to those above-mentioned, viz. Gurski, a very productive and popular writer; L. Osinski, still more esteemed as a critic; Molski, Tanski, Boncza Tomaszewski, Okraszewski, Tymowski, Szydlowski, and Kozmian, the author of a popular didactic poem.

Polish literature is particularly rich in excellent translations. This is due partly to the richness and pliability of the language itself. Dmochowski, Przybylski, and Staszyc, translated Homer; and the two first, also Virgil. Dmochowski's translations are in rhymed verse; those of Przybylski, who also enriched Polish literature with translations of the *Paradise Lost*, the *Lusiad*, and of many other poems, are in the measures of the originals, and manifest both a profound knowledge of the foreign languages and great dexterity in using his own. Staszyc has written valuable works on various subjects, and enjoys a high esteem as a literary man and patriot. Felinski, the translator of Delille and Racine, is considered as the most harmonious Polish versi-

⁹⁹ The fourth volume appeared at Paris; where also his earlier poetry was reprinted in 1826 under the title: *Poetye Adama Mickiewicza*.

fier. Hodani, Osinski, Kicinski, Kruszyński, have likewise transplanted the productions of the French Parnassus into the Polish soil; Sienkiewicz, Odyniec, Mickiewicz, and others have devoted their talents to the English. Okraszewski translated the Greek tragic poets. Minasowicz, the author of fifty-three various works, and Nagurczewski, translated also several of the ancient authors, but according to the best critics with more knowledge of the classic languages, than skill in the management of their own. Among all the distinguished poets mentioned above, there is hardly one, who besides his original productions, did not likewise devote his talents to poetical translations; in which Karpinski, Narasiewicz, and Krasicki, succeeded to admiration.

In the whole domain of poetry, there is no branch in which the Poles less succeeded, or at least have manifested a greater want of *original* power, than the dramatic. Here the influence of the French school was most decided, and indeed exclusive. We have seen above what pains were taken by the most distinguished men of the nation, to establish a national stage; to which they looked, not in the light of a frivolous amusement, but as a school for purifying and elevating the national language and literary taste, and also as a means of correcting vice by ridiculing it. In this view several clergymen wrote for the theatre. The Jesuit Bohomolec wrote the first original comedies, in 1757; other comedies, valuable as pictures of the time, were written by bishop Kossakowski. Prince Czartoryski we have mentioned above as a writer of dramas. Zablocki, Lipinski, Osinski, Kowalski and others transplanted the French masterpieces to the Polish stage, or imitated them. The actors Boguslawski, Bielawski, and Zolkowski, wrote original pieces. Tragedies, mostly on subjects of Polish history, were written by Niemcewicz, Felinski, Dembowski, Slowacki, Kropinski, Hofmann, and F. Wenzky, whose "Glinski" is considered as the best Polish production of this kind. The most popular comedies in recent times are by count Fredro, who is called the Polish Molière. The Polish stage is still richer in melo-dramas, especially rural pictures in a dramatic form; of which Niemcewicz's piece "John Kochanowski" is a fine specimen.

As it respects novels, tales in prose, and similar productions, the literature of Poland has been much less overwhelmed with this species of writing, in which mediocrity is so easy and perfection so rare, than that of their neighbours the Russians. We think this can easily be accounted for. They possess few, for

the same reason that the English are so rich in them. Domestic life, the true basis of the modern novel, has no charms in Poland. The whole tendency of the nation is towards public life, splendour, military fame; theirs are not the modest virtues of private retirement, but the heroic deeds of public renown. The beauty, the spirit, the influence of their women, is generally acknowledged; but that female reserve and delicacy which draws the thread of an English novel through three volumes, would be looked for in vain in Poland. Niemcewicz however published in 1827 an historical novel, "John of Trenzyn," which is considered as a happy imitation of Scott. Others were written by count Skarbeck. Among the novels, which present a psychological developement of character and a description of fashionable life, "The Intimations of the Heart" is considered as the principal work. It was written by the princess of Wirtemberg, daughter of Adam and Isabella Czartoryski. Another highly esteemed female writer is Clementina Hofmann, formerly Tanska.

The Poles, although from a feeling of pride and patriotism naturally disposed to overrate the productions of their own literature, are far from being deficient in critical judgment or in exalted ideas on the theory of the beautiful. The counts Stan, Potocki and Ossolinski, L. Osinski, Golanski, and others, maintain a high rank in this department.

Philosophy, as an abstract science, independently of its immediate application to subjects of real life, has never found more than a few votaries among the Poles. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Aristotle was translated into Polish by Petryci. For nearly two hundred years, the teachers of philosophy in the Polish universities stopped at Aristotle; and a few commentaries on his Ethics and Politics composed the whole philosophical literature of Poland. In the first years of our own century, Jaronski and Scianawski made an attempt to introduce the philosophy of Kant; but although the cause appeared to be in the best hands, they met with little success. Galuchowski, a German philosophical writer of merit, is a Pole by birth.*

For the study of polite literature and the Slavic languages, Warsaw is the principal seat; for philology and the exact sciences, the university of Wilna. This learned institution has taken special pains in respect to the necessary elementary books for

* Author of the work: *Die Philosophie in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Leben ganzer Völker*, Erlangen 1822.

the study of the classical languages ; and is distinguished by its able professors Groddek, Bobrowski, and Zukowski. The former, a scholar of high reputation, in addition to several original philological works, has translated Buttmann's Greek Grammar into Polish ; the latter has published also a Greek and a Hebrew Grammar. In the oriental languages Senkowski at St. Petersburg is distinguished ; and count Rzewuski at Vienna has great desert in connexion with the celebrated periodical work, *Fundgruben des Orients*.

In consequence of the grand-duke Constantine's predilection for mathematics, an undue share of attention, during the last fifteen years, has been paid in schools to the exact or empirical sciences ; *undue* we call it, because on account of its excess, the moral and literary pursuits of the pupils have necessarily been neglected. Mathematics, during this whole period, were taught by several eminent men ; by John Sniadecki, who is at the same time considered as a model in respect to style and language ; by Poczobut, Zaborowski, Czech, Rogalinski, and others. In the same departments the names of Twardowski, Polinski, and Konkowski, must be honourably mentioned. Count Sierakowski wrote a classical work on architecture ; and the learned Polish Jew Stern is celebrated over all Europe as the inventor of arithmetical and agricultural machines. Count Chodkiewicz and Andrew Sniadecki are distinguished chemists. Natural philosophy, although less studied, has able professors in H. Osinski and Bystrzycki ; natural history, more especially botany and zoology, in Kluk and Jundzill. Medicine, until the last seventy years, was in Poland exclusively in the hands of foreigners, especially Germans and French ;¹⁰⁰ since then several gifted Poles have devoted themselves to this science, although they have not yet formed a national school. Lafontaine, body physician of the last king, Dziarkowski, Perzyna, Malcz, and others, must be mentioned here. The university of Wilna is the most celebrated school for medical science.

¹⁰⁰ See Dr Connor's History of Poland, 1698. Even as late as the close of the seventeenth century, the Poles were barbarians enough to look upon the profession of a physician with contempt. They had however in earlier times some very celebrated physicians, as Martin of Olkusc, Felix of Lowicz, and Struthius, who was called to Spain to save the life of Philip II, and even to the Turkish sultan Soliman II.

Among the reflecting statesmen of Poland, there has recently been a great deal of attention bestowed on national economy and its various branches, more especially on studies connected with agriculture, as being the science most applicable to the present wants of the country. Poland being the most extensive plain in Europe, and for the most part of a very rich and fertile soil, the Poles would seem destined by nature to be an agricultural people. We cannot but observe here, that from this very circumstance, the wretched state of the labouring classes is placed in a still more striking light. The interests of agricultural science have been promoted by different societies, and several able treatises on those subjects have been published; although it does not appear that any new theory or principles have been started. Of all the branches of moral science, political economy has met in Poland with the most disciples. Valuable statistical works on Poland in the Polish language have been written by Staszyc, honourably mentioned above, by Slawiarski and others. Swiencki in his 'Geography of ancient Poland,' Surowiecki in his 'History of the Polish towns and peasantry,' give very valuable statistical notices; and the 'Journey to Constantinople and Troy' by count Raczynski, contains an exact statistical account of Podolia and the Ukraine.

The science of law must ever have been in a melancholy state in a country like Poland. Poland proper has always been governed by *statutes* and *constitutions*, sanctioned by the diet. These were either founded on ancient usages, *consuetudines*, or occasioned by particular circumstances. The towns were governed according to the code of Magdeburgh. In Lithuania the ancient Lithuanian statutes, collected in 1529, prevailed and still prevail, if not in collision with any intervening *ukase*.* In the other provinces, the laws of the respective monarchies to which they are annexed, are in force. Thus the different portions of Poland are governed in accordance with seven different systems of law.¹⁰¹ Under the administration of the last king of Poland, which was so rich in improvements, a general code of laws was also planned, and projects were prepared by able statesmen and lawyers; but they were all rejected by the diet of 1777. Under the Russian administration, preparation was made from the

* This code is frequently called the code of Leo Sapieha, the sub-chancellor of Lithuania, who in A. D. 1588 translated it from the White Russian into the Polish language.

¹⁰¹ See *Revue Encyclopédique*, Oct. 1827, p. 219.

very beginning for the introduction of a new code ; but the first project of a criminal code presented by the council of state, was likewise rejected by the diet of 1820. A portion of the civil code was accepted in A. D. 1825 ; but the complete code, which was ready for publication in the year 1830, has not, so far as we are informed, yet been introduced. The administration of justice in Poland is about as bad as in Russia ; being nothing but one great system of bribery and corruption. Of the judges of the lower courts, two thirds are elected ; one third of these and all the officers of the higher tribunals, are appointed by the government. In former times the profession of a lawyer, as well as that of a physician, was considered in Poland as degrading and unworthy of a nobleman. These two professions were not indeed prohibited by law, like that of traders—for a nobleman who retailed “by yards or by pints,” legally lost his rank—but custom had made all those occupations which were the source of pecuniary profit, equally the objects of contempt. There was even a time, “when it was reckoned a matter of indifference for a nobleman to *understand arithmetic*.”¹⁰² In modern times the ideas on this subject have of course changed ; the study of law is no longer despised, especially in its necessary connexion with the administration of justice. Slotwinski in Cracow, Brantkie and Maciejowski in Warsaw, are esteemed as teachers of law. The Roman law, both civil and criminal, is studied in the universities, as well as the law of nature and nations ; which latter, in the case of this unhappy country, has been for more than sixty years so cruelly violated.

It is a singular fact, that although, down to the year 1818 when the Russian government interfered to prevent it, foreign travel was one of the favourite means of education among the Polish nobility, their literature exhibits hardly any books of travels. A few were formerly written in Latin or French ; among the latter we mention John Potocki's ‘Travels for the purpose of discovering Slavic antiquities,’ Hamb. 1795. In more modern times count Raczynski, has published a ‘Journal of his travels to Constantinople and the plain of Troy,’ richly embellished with illustrations.¹⁰³ A view of Great Britain was given in 1828 by Ljach Szyrma, under the title : *Anglia i Szkocya*.

¹⁰² See Letters on Poland, p. 103.

¹⁰³ Breslau 1821. The same author published John Sobieski's

We have thus brought down the history of Polish literature to the year 1830, an epoch of glorious, although most melancholy moment in the history of Poland. To that time the survey which we have given, at the beginning of this period, must be chiefly applied. The state of the country, on the whole, was prosperous. The cruel wrongs inflicted on the Poles, were all in express violation of a constitution, which in 1815 met with the approbation of Kosciuszko and the best of the nation. A noble individual or a high-spirited people can more easily submit even to unjust laws, than to arbitrary despotism. *Legally* the grand duke had no right to keep a single Russian soldier in Poland; by the terms of the constitution they could be there only as foreign guests. *Legally* the press was free. *Legally* Poland could have defended herself by her charter against every arbitrary act of her sovereign or his viceroy. It would seem, however, that even the repeated infringements of the constitution, and the direct violation of the laws by the government, did not contribute so much to induce the Poles to insurrection, as the fierce and brutal behaviour of the Russian generalissimo, and of the Russian civil and military officers high and low, whose profligacy had long made them the objects of deep contempt. The annals of Warsaw indeed present, during the Russian administration, one of the most revolting pictures which history exhibits; and the idea that it owes its darkest shades principally to the reckless despotism of one individual, serves only to make them appear still darker.

The war, which called into exercise all the mental faculties of the nation, put a stop of course to all literary activity; but even during the more quiet period which has succeeded it—the quietness of a cemetery—the dejected spirits of the nation, whose noblest sons an interval of two years has rendered prisoners, exiles, or corpses, are easily to be perceived in the results of their intellectual pursuits. A small volume containing three poems by Niemcewicz and Mickiewicz, was printed in 1833 at Leipzig. It is the swan-like melody of the aged poet; whilst the younger celebrates the exploits of his valiant brethren. The late vice-president of Warsaw, Xavier Bronikowski, now publishes *Polnische Miscellen* in the German language at Nuremberg.* For

Letters, a work read throughout all Europe, in its French translation by count Plater and Salvandy.

* An association of literary gentlemen at Paris, mostly exiles from

the expression of all patriotic feelings, the Polish printing offices at home are of course shut up. The fifteen printing offices at Warsaw, nevertheless, during the interval between March and December in the year 1832, issued not less than sixty-three Polish works. The most important among this number is a History of the Slavic Legislatures, by Prof. Maciejowski. Schaffarik was expected to accompany it with a sketch of Slavic History and Geography, but was prevented by sickness and domestic affliction. Another, although more limited work, is an Exhibition of the Slavic rights of inheritance, by J. Hube. Learned treatises of this kind were until recently wholly wanting in the Polish literature, and have long been a desideratum among Slavic scholars.

The publication of the early chronicles, intended to render them more accessible to the public, is continued. Idzkowski has published a valuable contribution to the history of the arts, in a Sketch of Architecture. The cholera has occasioned the appearance of several able medical works. The Society of Sciences at Cracow has given birth to more than one respectable historical essay; and has indeed acquired an important standing by the suppression of all other similar institutions. Cracow, after all, is at present the only purely Polish city, the only remaining weak, but venerable nursery of Polish liberty. A highly interesting work was recently published at this place, a 'History of the Latin language in Poland,' by Dr Macherzynski. This book is considered as a mine of erudition and useful knowledge. A list is annexed of all the different editions of the classics published in Poland. We learn from it that Cicero's works have been edited there, partly in portions and partly complete, not less than forty-five times, the first time as early as A. D. 1500, at Cracow; Horace, eight times, first in 1521; Ovid four times, first in 1529; Virgil six times, first in 1642, etc.

We conclude with a few remarks on the popular songs of the Polish nation. There has indeed been no previous opportunity for introducing them to the knowledge of the reader; since they have never exerted any influence on the other sections of poetical literature; nay, have been by the higher classes decidedly neglected. The Poles are however as rich in these treasures, as other Slavic nations, i. e. in those lyrical effusions of feeling,

Poland, have announced a work with the title: *Souvenirs de la Pologne historiques, statistiques et littéraires*. It is calculated to comprise about twelve volumes.

common to all of them; but we find here among the Poles no trace of epic poetry. The principal thing in the Polish popular songs is however the *tune* or melody; thus their celebrated national dances, Mazur, Kossak, and the incomparable Polonaise, are known and admired all over the world, whilst the words which originally accompanied those melodies, are forgotten even at home. Pensiveness is the fundamental tone of all their songs and melodies. Even the Mazur, originally a child of joy, melts frequently into plaintive strains. "These," says the author of a little collection of Polish songs recently published in Germany, "these are the after-pains of whole generations; these are the sorrows of whole centuries; which in these melodies are blended into one everlasting sigh!"¹⁰⁴ The original seat of most of these songs is the Ukraine; from whence they penetrated into Podolia and Volhynia. But Poland proper has also its popular songs; some of which are said to be derived from the fifteenth or sixteenth century; but they have changed too much, to afford any evidence of the state of the language at that time, and belong in their present state most certainly to a later period. The songs of Lithuania, where, as we have seen above, the mass of the people are of another race, do not belong here.

The extraordinary mental activity of the Polish nation promises soon to give to the history of their literature a still greater extent. May it be the will of divine Providence, that their noble poets shall ere long exult in the happiness of their country, in a state of independence; and that with theirs shall likewise be joined the voices of those oppressed classes, in whom not only the RIGHTS OF NATIONS have for sixty years been violated, but also for centuries the RIGHTS OF MAN!¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ *Volkslieder der Polen gesammelt und übersetzt von W. P. Leipzig 1833.* The only Polish collection of popular poetry we know, is the work *Sielanki Polske*, Warsaw 1778.

¹⁰⁵ The history of Polish literature has been treated at large in several valuable works. In the English language the Letters on Poland, Edinb. 1823, and Bowring's Introduction to his Polish Anthology, are, so far we are informed, the only books which contain literary notices of Poland. Latin works are: Starowolski *Scriptor. Polon. Hecatomias*, Frankfort 1625. Wengierski *Systema hist. chron. eccles. Slavonicar.* Utrecht 1652, Amsterd. 1679. Zaluski *Bibliotheca poet. Polon.* Wars. 1752. *Polonia literata*, Bresl. 1750. *Acta literaria regni Polon.* Wars. 1756. *Janociana sive claror. Polon. auctororum Memoriae miscellae*, Warsaw 1776—79, 2 vols. Vol. 3, 1819. The titles of numerous other Latin works are to be found in Bentkowski's *Hist. lit.*

IV. Languages of the Sorabian-Vendes in Lusatia, and of other Vendish tribes now extinct.

The north-eastern part of Germany, as far west as the Elbe and Saale, was from the fifth to the tenth century almost exclusively inhabited by nations of the Slavic race. Various Teutonic tribes—among them the Burgundians, the Suevi, Heruli, and Hermunduri—had before this taken up their temporary residence along the Baltic, between the Vistula and the Elbe. In the great migration of the Asiatic-European nations, which for nearly two centuries kept in motion all Europe from the icy Ocean to the Atlantic, and extended even to the north of Africa,

Pol. Vol. I. p. 1—73, and partly in Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slav. Spr.* p. 478. German works are: Lengnich's *Poln. Bibliothek*, Danzig 1718. Janocki *Kritische Briefe*, Dresden 1745. *Nachrichten von raren Poln. Büchern*, Dresden 1747. *Poln. Büchersaal*, Breslau 1756. Mieler de Kolof *Warschauer Bibliothek*, Wars. 1754. Kausch's *Nachrichten über Polen*, Gratz 1793. Münnich's *Geschichte der Poln. Literatur*, 1823. In French: Duclos *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature de Pologne*, Berl. 1778. *Revue Encyclopédique*, Oct. 1827. The most popular Polish works are: Chrominski *O literaturze Polsk.* see *Annals of Wilna* 1806. Bentkowski *Historia literatury Polskiej*, Warsaw 1814. Count Ossolinski's *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literat. Polsk.* Cracow 1819. Juszynski *Dykcjonarz poetow Polskich*, Cracow 1820. Szumski *Krotki rys hist. literat. Polsk.* 1824, etc.—In grammatical and lexical works the Polish language is very rich. The language having considerably changed, we name only the principal of the modern: GRAMMARS, in German, Krumholz *Polnische Grammatik*, Breslau 1797, 6th edit. *Auszug aus Kopczynski's Grammatik*, von Polsfuss, Breslau 1794. Mrongovius *Poln. Sprachlehre*, Königsb. 1794, and in several altered editions under different titles; last edition Danzig 1827. Szumski's *Poln. Gramm.* Posen 1830. Vater's *Grammatik der Poln. Sprache*, Halle 1807. Bantkie *Poln. Grammatik* attached to his Dictionary, Breslau 1808—1824. In French, Kopczynski *Essai d'une grammaire Polonoise*, Wars. 1807. Trambczynski *Grammatique raisonnée de la langue Polonoise*, Wars. new edit. 1793.—DICTIONARIES. The most useful are, Mrongovius *Handwörterbuch der Poln. Sprache*, latest edit. Danz. 1823. *Troc Franz-poln.-deutsches Wörterbuch*, in several editions from 1742 to 1821. J. V. Bantkie *Taschenwörterbuch der poln. Sprache*, (German and French,) Breslau and Wars. in several editions from 1805 to 1819.—Standard works for the language are the etymological dictionaries: G. S. Bantkie *Słownik dokładny iez. pol. i. niem.* Breslau 1806, and Linde's *Słownik iez. pol.* Wars. 1807—14. For other philological works, see Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slav. Spr.* p. 410.

the warlike German nations moved towards the southwest, and Slavic tribes traversing the Danube and Vistula, in immense multitudes, took possession of the countries which they left. Those who came over the northern Vistula, settled along the coasts of the Baltic as far west as to the Elbe and Saale, and as far south as to the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains) on the borders of Bohemia.

These Slavic tribes were called by the Germans, *Wenden*, Lat. *Venedi*, for which we prefer in English the form *Vendes*, rather than that of *Wends*. It appears indeed that this name was formerly applied by the Germans indiscriminately to all the Slavic nations with which they came in contact; for the name *Winden*, Eng. *Vindes*, which is still, as we have seen, the German appellation for the Slovenzi, or the Slavic inhabitants of Southern Germany, is evidently the same in a slightly altered form. The name of *Wenden*, *Vendes*, became however, in the course of time a specific appellation for the northern German-Slavic tribes, of which, at the present day, only a few meagre remnants are left. They were nevertheless once a powerful nation. Five independent branches must be distinguished among them.

We first name the *Obotrites*, the former inhabitants of the present duchies of Mecklenburg, and the adjacent country, west, north, and south. They were divided into the *Obotrites* proper, the *Wagrians* in Holstein, and the *Polabae* and *Linones* on the banks of the Elbe and Leine; but were united under a common chief or king. They and their eastern neighbours the *Wiltzi*, (Germ. *Wülzen*, Lat. *Veletabae*,) with whom they lived in perpetual warfare, were the most warlike and powerful among the Vendish tribes. The *Wiltzi* or *Pomeranians* lived interspersed with the *Kassubes*, a *Lekkish* tribe, between the *Oder* and the *Vistula*, and were subjugated by the *Obotrites* in A. D. 782. It was however only by the utmost exertions, that these latter could maintain their own independence against their western and southern neighbours, the Germans. Conquered by Charlemagne, they regained their independence under his successors, and centuries passed away in constant and bloody conflicts and alternate fortunes. In the middle of the twelfth century, however, they were completely subjugated by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. He laid waste their whole country, destroyed most of the people, and compelled the few remaining inhabitants and their prince, to accept Christianity from his bloody hands. In A. D. 1167 he restored to this latter,

whose name was Pribislaus, a part of his kingdom, and gave his daughter Matilda in marriage to the son of Pribislaus, who a few years later was made a prince of the empire, and was thus gained over to the German cause. His descendants are the present dukes of Mecklenburg; and it is a memorable fact, that these princes are at the present day the only sovereigns in Europe of the Slavic race. German priests and German colonists introduced the German language; although we find that Bruno, the chief missionary among the Obotrites, preached before them in their own language. The Slavic dialect spoken by them expired gradually; and probably without ever having been reduced to writing, except for the sake of curiosity when very near its extinction. The only documents of it which have come down to us, are a few incomplete vocabularies, compiled among the Polabae and Linones, i. e. the inhabitants adjacent to the Elbe, in Slavic *Labe*, and to the Leine, in Slavic *Linac*. Long after the whole region was perfectly Germanized, a few towns in the eastern corner of the present kingdom of Hanover, were still almost exclusively inhabited by a people of Slavic race, who in the seventeenth century, and even to the middle of the eighteenth, had preserved in some measure their language and habits. But, since the Germans were strongly prejudiced against the Vendish name—the nations of this race, especially those in the western part of the German territories, being despised as subjugated tribes and inferior in general knowledge and information—they gradually renounced their national peculiarities. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, when Hennings, German pastor at Wustrow, took great pains to collect among them historical notices and a vocabulary of their language, he found the youth already ignorant of the latter, and the old people almost ashamed of knowing it, or at least afraid of being laughed at by their children. They took his inquiries, and those of other intelligent persons, in respect to their ancient language and usages, as intended to ridicule them, and denied at first any knowledge of those matters. We find, however, that preaching in the Vendish language of this region was still continued for some time later. Divine service was held in it for the last time at Wustrow, in the year 1751. According to the vocabularies which Hennings and a few others collected, their dialect, like that spoken in Lower Lusatia, was nearly related to the Polish language, partaking however in some peculiarities of the Bohemian, and not without some of its own.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Herder, in his *Volkslieder*, communicated a popular ballad from

The second great Vendish tribe, the Wiltzi or Pomeranians, (Germ. *Wilzen*,) also called Veletabae, were, as we said above, subjugated in A. D. 782 by the Obotrites; and the country between the Oder and the Vistula formed for more than a hundred and fifty years a part of the great Vendish kingdom. They regained, however, even before the final dissolution of this latter in A. D. 1026, the partial independence of their own dukes; who attached themselves to Germany, and afterwards, under the name of the dukes of Pomerania, became princes of the empire. In the year 1124 the first Pomeranians were baptized by Otho, bishop of Bamberg; and the place where this act was performed, Ottosbrunnen, (Otho's Well,) which five hundred years ago was encircled by four lime trees, is still shown to the traveller. As they received religion and instruction from Germany, the influence of the German language can easily be accounted for. German colonists aided in spreading it throughout the whole country. The last person who understood the old Pomeranian language, is said to have died in the year 1404. No trace of it remains, excepting only the names of places and persons, the Slavic origin of which can be recognized throughout all north-eastern Germany by the terminations in *itz*, *enz*, *ik*, or *ow*. In A. D. 1637 the line of the old Pomeranian dukes expired, and the country fell to Brandenburg, with the exception of that part which Sweden usurped at the peace of Westphalia. The island of Rügen, which till A. D. 1478 had its own native princes, belonged to this latter. It is the principal seat of German-Slavic antiquities. The ancient Rugians and their gods are mentioned by Tacitus, and described by Saxo Grammaticus. The old chronicles and legends, founded on still older traditions, speak of a large and flourishing city named Vineta on the small island Wollin, south-east of Rügen, once the principal seat of the western Slavic commerce, and, as Herder calls it, the Slavic Amsterdam. This city is said by some to have been destroyed by the Danes; by others to have been engulfed in the sea by the sinking of the ground beneath it. Modern inquirers, however, have doubted whether it ever existed; and hard as it is to renounce the many poetical associations attached to such a subject—so similar to those which fill the mind in thinking of Pompeii and Herculaneum—their objections have not yet been satisfactorily refuted.

The third separate branch of the Vendish stem were the Ukri-
 this dialect. See *Literatur und Kunst*, Vol. VII. p. 126. edit. of 1827
 —30.

ans, or Border-Vendes, Germ. *Ukern*, from *Ukraina*, border. They lived in the territory which afterwards became the margravate of Brandenburg, and were divided into several tribes, as the Hevelli on the banks of the Havel, the Retarians, etc. Their situation was such, that constant conflicts between them and the guardians or watch of the German frontiers, the Saxon margraves on the other side of the Elbe, were unavoidable. These served gradually to extend the German *marches* or frontiers further and further, until in the year 1134 Albert the Bear, count of Ascania, finally conquered the Vendes. The Slavic inhabitants of this region were cruelly and completely destroyed; the country was repopled by German and Dutch colonists, and given as a fief by the emperor to Albert the Bear, the first margrave of Brandenburg. Brandenburg was the German form for *Brannibor*, the most considerable of the Vendish cities, after which the country was called. The names of places, many of them altered in a similar manner, are indeed the only weak traces of the Vendish language once spoken in this part of Germany. No tribe of the Vendes seems to have been so completely extinguished; the present inhabitants of Brandenburg being of as pure a German origin, as those of any other part of Germany.

The descendants of only two Vendish tribes have preserved their language; and even these, from powerful nations spread over the surface of at least 4800 geographical square miles, have shrunk into the comparatively small number of about two hundred thousand individuals, now inhabitants of Upper and Lower Lusatia. Nearly all of them are peasants; for the higher classes, even if Slavic blood perhaps runs in their veins, are completely Germanized. These tribes are the Sorabians, Lat. *Sorabae*, Germ. *Sorben*, in Lusatia, divided into two different branches. Although in fact two distinct tribes, and speaking different dialects, yet their early history cannot well be separated. After the dissolution of the great kingdom of Thuringia by the Franks and Saxons in the year 1528, the Sorabians, or Sorbae, took possession of the countries left by the Hermunduri, viz. the territory between the Harz mountains, the Saale, and the Erzgebirge, and extended their dominion in a northern direction to the seats of their brethren, the Ukrians, and towards the east as far as to the region in which their near relations, the Lekhes, about the same time had settled. They made serfs of the German inhabitants whom they found scattered through this country, and according to their industrious habits, began immediately af-

ter their arrival to cultivate the soil, to build cities, and to trade in the productions of the country. Although not strictly a war-like people, they were able for several centuries to defend their frontiers against the frequent attacks of their German neighbours on the other side of the Saale, and to give them trouble in return. But they yielded before the arms of Charlemagne; and after a short interval of renewed independence, they were completely subjugated and made tributary by Henry I. Their country, according to the German custom, was divided into *marches*, and populated with German settlers. These latter more especially occupied the towns, and built villages among the woods and mountains; whilst the Vendes, chiefly addicted to agriculture, continued to occupy the plains. But even on the plains, there soon arose the castles of German knights, their masters and oppressors; and the Vendish population was by degrees reduced to the miserable condition of serfs.

In the year 968, the first attempt was made to convert them to Christianity, partly by the sword of the conqueror, partly by the instruction of christian missionaries. But more than one century passed away, before the christian religion was fully introduced among them. Benno, bishop of Meissen, who died in A. D. 1106, at the age of ninety-six, acquired by his activity in the work of converting the Vendes, the name of the apostle of the Slavi. The obstinate resistance with which the christian religion had been rejected by them, can easily be explained by the unjudicious, nay flagitious way, in which it was presented to them by the Germans; who came among them, the sword in one hand and the cross in the other; and exacted moreover from them the sacrifice of their language, their customs, their whole nationality in exchange. The naturally childlike, submissive disposition of the Slavi, rendered them in all other regions, as we have seen, willing to receive the christian doctrines, more especially when their superiors themselves acted as their apostles; as was in some measure the case with the Russian Vladimir, Jagello in Lithuania, etc.¹⁰⁷ But the mode described

¹⁰⁷ "On a certain day all the inhabitants of Kief were assembled on the banks of the Dnieper, and on a signal from the monarch, all plunged into the river, some to the waist, others to the neck; parents held their children in their arms while the ceremony was performed by the priests in attendance. Thus a nation received baptism, not only without murmuring, but with cheerfulness; for all were convinced that a religion, embraced by the sovereign and boyards, must necessarily be the best in the world." Foreign Quart. Review, Art. on Ka-

above, which was adopted by the German heroes, not only among the Vendes, but also some centuries later among the old Borussians, could not but rouse all their feelings of pride and nationality to a decided resistance. Even when the Germans refrained from force, their means of conversion were equally opposed to the spirit of Christianity. Bishop Otho of Bamberg, for instance, was accustomed, when on his missionary travels, to have fifty or more wagons in his train loaded with cloth, victuals, etc. in order to reward on the spot those who submitted to baptism.¹⁰⁸

But the holy light of Christianity, even after the Vendish tribes had embraced its doctrines, did not clear up the darkness of their fate. The whole humiliating relation between masters and serfs in Germany, which still degraded the last century, was unknown to the free ancient Germans, among whom only the prisoner of war was a slave; and is derived from the period of the submission of the Vendes. The Germans indeed seem to have considered them as an inferior race, and treated them accordingly. The contempt with which the old historians speak of them, is revolting to every liberal and unprejudiced mind, and can hardly be explained. For the Sorabians were at the time of their submission, superior on the whole to the Germans in respect to civilization, although in consequence of this contemptuous treatment they in the course of time fell far behind them. Despised and oppressed, they were kept for centuries in a state of ignorance and neglect; from which, it seems, they could only escape by renouncing their Slavic peculiarities, and above all their language. The use of this latter before courts of justice was in the fourteenth century forbidden by law throughout most of the country. In the beginning of the same century, the Vendish language was still sometimes heard at Leipzig, but not later. In the villages also it became wholly extinct fifty or an hundred years later; and only single words passed over into the German language. But this was not the case with their usages and other national peculiarities; there are still several tribes, nay the peasants of whole provinces in this part of Germany, in whom the Slavic origin can be distinctly traced.¹⁰⁹ Their language however was

ramsin's *History of Russia*, Vol. III. p. 160. Compare Henderson's *Travels in Russia*, p. 191.

¹⁰⁸ See Cramer's *Pommersche Kirchen-Historie*, L. I. c. 29.

¹⁰⁹ Among others the peasants of the duchy of Altenburg, who are highly respectable through a certain degree of cultivation rare among German peasants, and distinguished for their wealth and prosperous

driven into the remotest eastern corner of their former extensive territory, and is there, and only there, still to be heard. We speak of the province called Lusatia, situated between Saxony, Bohemia, Silesia, and Brandenburg, of which the greatest part is at present under the Prussian dominion, and the smallest but richest portion under that of Saxony.

Lushitze, Lusatia, Germ. *Lausitz*, signifies in Slavic, a low marshland. This name was formerly applied only to the north eastern part of this province, or Lower Lusatia, which is, or was at least at the time of the Vendish settlement, a country of that description. At a later period, the name was carried over very improperly to the south-western part, or Upper Lusatia, a beautiful and mountainous region. Lusatia was given by Henry I as a fief to the margrave of Meissen. In the course of the following centuries, its two parts were repeatedly separated and reunited, alternately under the dominion of the last-named margrave, of Poland, or of Bohemia, without however belonging to the German empire. In the fourteenth century it was at length incorporated with Bohemia, and remained so for nearly three hundred years. To this circumstance alone the partial preservation of the Vendish language is to be ascribed. At the peace of Prague, A. D. 1636, it was allotted to Saxony. At the congress of Vienna in 1815, it was assigned, with the exception of the smaller half of Upper Lusatia, to Prussia, to which monarchy it still belongs.

§ 1. *Language of the Sorabians in Upper Lusatia.*

The cities of Bautzen, Zittau, Kamenz, Löbau, and their districts, form the Saxon part of Upper Lusatia. Of its 195,000 inhabitants, about the fourth or fifth part still speak the Vendish language. In the north eastern part of Upper Lusatia, which belongs to Prussia, there is about the same proportion of Vendish inhabitants. In both territories the whole number of Vendes is about 100,000. Their language is very nearly related to the Bohemian; where the Sorabians of Lower Lusatia and the Poles pronounce the letter *h*, the Upper Lusatians and Bohemians give the sound of *g*. Both Lusatian dialects have of course lost very many of their original peculiari-

condition. Although long since perfectly Germanized, certain Vendish usages have been kept up among them, more especially at weddings and similar festivals, the details of which are very interesting.

ties; thus both have adopted the article from the German language. Even as late as the seventeenth century, attempts were made to eradicate them completely. German pastors were installed through the whole country; a measure which had indeed the result, that in a short time sixteen communities or parishes were Germanized. But in 1716 they succeeded in obtaining the erection of a seminary at Leipzig for the education of Vendish ministers; and in A. D. 1749, another was instituted at Wittenberg. Some successful attempts to commit this dialect to writing had already been made at the time of the Reformation; but their grammar and orthography were then unsettled, and are so still in part; although Bierling in A. D. 1689 introduced a regular system of the latter, which has been adopted by later writers. Several patriotic clergymen have since been active in providing their people with useful books for religious instruction. Portions of the Bible were already translated in the seventeenth century. A version of the Old Testament was published in the year 1703 by Matthæi; and one of the New Testament three years later by Frenzel. A translation of the whole Bible for protestants, made by several clergymen, appeared in 1729, and has been twice reprinted. A version of the Bible for catholics by Swotlik, is extant in manuscript.

The Upper Lusatian dialect acquired in this way a degree of cultivation, which of course, since most of those who speak and read it are of the common people, comparatively few are able to appreciate. In religious hymns, there is no deficiency; and several cantos of Klopstock's Messiah have been translated into it by Möhn, in the measure of the original. In regard to the popular songs of the Sorabians, a kind of poetry in which most Slavic nations are so rich, no pains was taken until recently to discover whether they had any or not. But when on the publication of the remarkable Servian songs, the interest of the German public in this species of poetry became strongly excited, the Saxon minister of state, baron Nostitz, himself an esteemed German poet, turned his attention particularly to this subject, and succeeded in collecting several little songs, full of that sweet, half pensive, half roguish feeling, which characterizes Slavic popular poetry in general. They were translated by him and communicated in manuscript to his friends; but whether they have ever been printed we are not informed.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Grammars and dictionaries of this dialect are: Matthæi's *Wendische Grammatik*, Bautzen 1721. Bierling's *Didascalia*, Bautzen 1689. Ticini *Principia lingue Vendicæ*, Prague 1679—82. Augustin

§ 2. *Language of the Sorabians in Lower Lusatia.*

Lower Lusatia, or the north-eastern part of the Lusatian territory, together with the adjacent circle of Cöthun in Brandenburg, has about the same number of Wendish inhabitants as the upper province. The dialect they speak has a strong affinity with the Polish, but is, like that of their brethren in Upper Lusatia, corrupted by German interpolations, and even in a still greater degree. It is obviously on the decline, and we can only expect, that after the lapse of a hundred years or less, no other vestige of it will be left than written or printed documents. The first book known to have been printed in this dialect, which is written according to a peculiar combination of the German letters, is Möller's Hymns, Catechism, and Liturgy, Bautzen 1574. Their present literature, like that of Upper Lusatia, is confined to works for religious instruction, grammars, and dictionaries. Of the former they possess no small number. They have also a complete version of the Bible. The N. Testament was translated for them as early as 1709, by Fabricius, and printed together with the German text. It has been repeatedly reprinted; and in the year 1798 a translation of the Old Testament by Fritze was added.¹¹¹

APPENDIX.

According to recent intelligence, received since the preceding pages were written, Prof. Schaffarik, to whose History of the Slavic languages we have so frequently had occasion to refer, is at present engaged in a larger work upon the same subject. In order to live entirely for these studies, he has retired from his professorship at the school of Neusatz, and has removed to Prague. The completion of his great work can hardly be expected at a very early date; since, according to his own statement in a letter to Prof. Maciejowski, he is at the same time

Swodlik *Vocabularium Latino-Serbicum*, Bautzen 1721. There are several others in manuscript; see Schaffarik's *Gesch. der Sl. Spr.* p. 483.

¹¹¹ Philological works on this dialect are: Hauptmann's *Wendische Sprachlehre*, Lübben 1761. *Kurze Anleitung zur wend. Sprache*, 1746. Megiseri *Thesaurus polyglottus*, Frankfort 1603, including the Lower Lusatian. Several vocabularies of this dialect are extant in manuscript; see Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Sl. Spr.* p. 486.

engaged in no less than eleven other literary works. We give here a translation of another of his letters, communicated in the Polish papers; from which the reader will perceive what rich additions we may anticipate from his work, to our knowledge of some of the branches of Slavic literature.

"I am at present particularly engaged in collecting materials, for my work on the history and literature of the southern Slavic tribes. After five years of fruitless endeavours, I have at length succeeded in opening the way to many monuments of this literature, which have been hitherto either unknown or inaccessible. Indeed, by order of the superior catholic clergy, search is now making throughout Croatia, Slavonia, etc. and all that is found is to be copied for me. It is astonishing, how many books have been written and published since the fifteenth century in the Servian-Illyrian and Croatian dialects, of which even the most distinguished of our literary men, as Dobrovski, Kopitar, and others, seem not to have had the remotest idea! But the Illyrians and Croats themselves do not know what they possess—like the Bohemians, who know one half of their ancient literature only from catalogues, i. e. only the titles of the books. I have also succeeded in bringing to light some documents of the Servian literature. Almost every time that I travel through Slavonia, the Banat, etc. I meet in the old churches and convents with books hitherto unknown. Would that I could visit Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Bulgaria! A manuscript hitherto unknown, of a statute of Tzar Dushan, I have copied and translated for Prof. Maciejowski at Warsaw, and have commented upon it so far as was possible. Of all this my History of the Slavic Literature will in due time give a full account. Up to the present time, I have only completed the history of the Slavic-Illyrian literature, or that of the catholic and Greek Servians, that of the Croats, and of the Slovaks. As to new works by authors in this region, there is not much to be said. Not a few Servian works appear indeed, but they are mostly unripe productions of youthful students. Vuk Stephanovitch writes no longer; formerly chief judge at Belgrade, he now resides at Semlin without any appointment. This is much to be deplored; for he has deserved a better lot."

ART. II. THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH.

By F. Münter, Bishop of Zealand. Translated from the German by E. C. Tracy, A. M.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following article was first published after the death of the author, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1833, 1tes Hest, p. 54 sq. Bishop Münter, the writer, was universally regarded as one of the most learned scholars of the age, especially in the department of Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities. He was born at Gotha, A. D. 1761. His father was afterwards invited, to Copenhagen as one of the pastors of the principal German church in that city, where he became distinguished for his eloquence as a preacher, and his influence as a clergyman. He is known to the Christians of other countries, by the narrative which he published of his intercourse with the famous count Struensee, after his condemnation. The son was educated at the university of Copenhagen, where he finished his course at an early age, and with great applause. In 1781 he proceeded to Göttingen, to pursue further the studies connected with the profession of theology. In the spring of 1784, he made a journey to Italy under the royal patronage, where he resided something more than three years, chiefly at Rome, but visiting also Naples and Sicily. Of this latter country he afterwards published an account. On his return in 1788, he became professor extraordinary of theology in the university of Copenhagen; and after three years, was advanced to an ordinary professorship, in April 1790. This important station he continued to hold with honour to himself and usefulness to the church and world, until A. D. 1808, when he was advanced to the dignity of bishop of Zealand, the diocese which includes the principal island and the capital of the Danish kingdom. In this high office, besides the activity which he manifested in the performance of all the duties connected with his station, and the many reforms and improvements which he adopted and urged upon his clergy, he still found time to prosecute the studies to which his previous life had been devoted; and many of his most important works were published during this period. The writer of these lines had

the pleasure of several interviews with him at Copenhagen in the year 1827, and received a deep impression of his learning, as well as of the dignity and affability of his demeanour. The testimony of evangelical Christians was favourable to his personal piety and to the general tenor of his public exertions; although they regarded him as not being sufficiently decided in some particulars. Münter died April 9, 1830, in the 69th year of his age. A full and interesting sketch of his life and character by his son-in-law, Mynster, is contained in the same number of the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* from which the present article is taken.—EDITOR.

PART I.

Planting of Christianity in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

1. The date of the first preaching of Christianity in the British islands was long a subject of interesting inquiry with English literati, who were fond of ascribing to their church the highest possible antiquity, and even claimed for it an apostolic origin. A favourite testimony in favour of this last opinion, was a passage in the 5th chapter of the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, in which it is said that he [Paul] ‘preached the gospel to the utmost limit of the west,’ ἐν τὸ τέμα τῆς οὐρα. This was regarded as explicit testimony in proof of the apostle’s visit to Britain, inasmuch as the British sea was denominated by ancient writers the *western* ocean, the Britons were by the poets called *ultimi Britanni*, the Morini, on the opposite coast of Gaul, *extremi, ultimi hominum Morini*; and other expressions of the like kind were used, which Stillingfleet has carefully collected. We have also explicit testimonies from ecclesiastical writers. The apostles, says Eusebius,¹ were no deceivers. Such men might, it is true, have deceived their neighbours and countrymen with an improbable story; but what folly were it for individuals so unlearned, who were acquainted only with their mother tongue, to plan a scheme to deceive the world by preaching this doctrine in the most distant cities and countries. He then names the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, and Scythians, and proceeds to say that ‘some crossed the ocean to the so-called British islands’ ἐν ταῖς κα-

¹ *Demonst. Evang.* III. c. 7.

λοιμῖνας βρεταννικὰς νῆσους. Theodoret also names the Britons among the nations converted by the apostles;¹ and, besides, says explicitly,² after mentioning Paul's journey into Spain, that he also carried salvation to the islands that lie in the ocean,—meaning probably the same as in another place,³ where he says that the apostle, after his release from imprisonment at Rome, went into Spain, and thence spread the light of the gospel to other nations. Jerome also⁴ says that Paul, after his residence in Spain, went from the one sea to the other, and that his industry in preaching extended as far as the earth itself: and again (*de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*), that after his imprisonment he preached the gospel in the western countries. Finally, Venantius Fortunatus also, in speaking of the apostle's labours, asserts the same fact:—

Transit et oceanum, vel qui facit Insula Portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

The possibility of all this cannot be disputed. Between his imprisonment at Rome and his death, Paul had ample time both for the journey into Spain, so often mentioned by ancient writers and which we know from Rom. 15: 24, that he intended to make, and for a visit to Britain. There were on that island, from the reign of the emperor Claudius, Roman colonies, civil as well as military, among which London was probably already reckoned.⁵ An intercourse was therefore undoubtedly kept up between Rome and Britain; and Stillingfleet, by a very sagacious comparison of circumstances, has pointed out a particular inducement that Paul might have had for the supposed visit. It is this:—Pomponia Græcina, wife of A. Plautius, the Roman governor under Claudius, appears to have been a Christian; for, as Tacitus informs us,⁶ she was accused of attachment to a foreign superstition—by which Christianity is supposed to be meant—but acquitted, on domestic trial, by her husband. She *may* therefore have been converted by Paul, who was then already in Rome; and just as the intercourse between Paul and Seneca, so often mentioned, *may* have been a motive for the apostle's journey into Spain, the native country of the Roman philosopher, so it is possible that Pomponia

¹ Sermon 9.

² In *ψ*. 116.

³ On 2 Tim. 4: 17.

⁴ On Amos, c. 9.

⁵ Stillingfleet, p. 43.

⁶ Annal. XIII. 32.

Græcina pointed out to him the happy results that might be expected, from extending his mission from Spain into Britain. But all these are mere *possibilities*. And even the testimonies of ecclesiastical writers adduced in proof of Paul's visit to Britain, are of much less weight than would appear at first view. In the first place they do not all agree in asserting even that Paul ever visited Britain; most of them speak of the apostles generally, without naming any one of them. And secondly, we have so many testimonies of the kind, which speak in the most explicit terms of the preaching of the gospel throughout the whole world—testimonies the absolute universality of which must occasion doubts of the correctness of each particular like those in question; although there is evident from them so much as this, that Christianity was preached, although not by the apostles, yet by Christian teachers at a very early period, not only throughout the Roman empire, but beyond its confines, and had in those distant countries at least some adherents, mostly, it is probable, Greeks and Romans.

2. And this is indisputably true of Britain, since Origen and Tertullian agree in asserting it. The former, in his fourth Homily on Ezekiel, asks: "When, before the coming of Christ, did the country of the Britons adopt (in opposition to the Druids) the belief in one God?" So also in another passage, (in Lucan c. 1. Hom. 6,) "The Saviour's power is also with them in Britain, who are separated from our world; with those in Mauritania; and all under the sun who believe on his name." He must therefore have had information of the existence of Christians in Britain. Intercourse was certainly kept up between Britain and Egypt by means of the commerce of Alexandria. And so between the former and the coast of Africa; by which means Tertullian, or whoever it was that about his time wrote the book *Adversus Judæos*, had received similar information. For in order to prove, in opposition to the Jews, that Christ was the true Messiah, he says (cap 7,) "*Getulorum varietates et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversae nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*" It cannot be denied that there are exaggerations here; but that there were Christians in the place named is certain, since the passage would otherwise have been of no force as proof against the Jews. And the *Romanis inaccessa loca* of the Britons, must be looked for either in the interior of the island and over towards Ireland, or beyond the wall kept up against

the North Britons since the time of Adrian ; the second line established by Severus being entirely out of the question.

Gildas, also, the most ancient British author, speaks of the continued existence of the christian church in Britain from the first planting of the gospel to the persecution under Diocletian, observing however that it was not sustained with uniform zeal.¹ With this statement the passage in Sulpicius Severus,² in which he speaks of Christianity as having just become known for the first time beyond the Alps, at the time of the persecution under the emperor Marcus Aurelius, contains nothing inconsistent,—the prominent fact of which he speaks being this ; that Christians in *Gaul* were then first called to suffer for their profession, which he attributes to the recent planting of the gospel there.

3. Nennius and Bede³ relate that, about the end of the second century, a British prince named Lucius (not king of Britain, for there were no such kings in that age) sent to a bishop of Rome for missionaries ;—that they came, and made converts of him and his subjects. It may have been so. There may have been such a prince ; Usher believed that he had seen a coin of his stamped with a cross and the letters LVC.⁴ But modern writers of numismatics know nothing of such a coin. The cross however is by no means uncommon on the most ancient British coins, and is of course proof that Christianity was the religion of the princes in whose dominions and under whose reign those coins were struck,—could we but tell exactly where and when it was.⁵

Although the churches in Britain were, according to Gildas, rather lukewarm and inactive during the whole of the third century, Christianity must yet have made advances. Otherwise the persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, in the year 303, would not have extended to British Christians. That such was the fact, we learn from the testimony of Caecilius or Lactantius in his well known work, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 12. The steadfastness of some confessors and martyrs won for religion, here as everywhere, new adherents ; and when Constantius

¹ Stillingfleet, p. 54.

² Sulpicius Severus, *Lib. II. p. 381.*

³ Nennius' *Hist. Brit.* c. 18. Bede l. 4.

⁴ Usher, p. 39.

⁵ Respecting Lucius, see Usher, Stillingfleet, and Spanheim. *Comp. Stäudlin*, 19, 20.

Chlorus, in the year 306, after the abdication of the two Cæsars, became emperor, the persecution spontaneously ceased. From that time, as Gildas and Bede agree in saying,¹ the churches flourished in great peace and harmony till the Arian controversy arose. With Constantine, Christianity ascended the throne of the world, and may have extended itself without opposition, under his protection and that of his successors, over all England, entirely supplanting the religion of the Druids as well as Roman heathenism. But alas! we have no facts to adduce; history does not furnish them.

4. But whence was Christianity originally introduced into England? Thus far the accounts that I have adduced seem to point towards Rome. Considering the relations that existed between the capital and what were then its western provinces, this would not be improbable, but for *one* circumstance, viz. the difference of rituals, from the earliest times downward, so far as our information extends, especially in regard to Easter—the British churches agreeing with those, not of the West but of Asia Minor, called on account of their peculiarity in this respect, Quartodecimans. This indicates clearly an Asiatic origin. And when we recollect that the churches of Lyons, Vienna, and in all probability of Marseilles also, were Greek churches, that they were closely connected with Asia Minor, and that the Greek language was understood by educated men in those cities—Irenæus indeed wrote in Greek—when we consider too that the Druids were also acquainted with Greek; we may with good reason infer from all these facts, that the British church was derived originally from the Grecian.

5. The history of the conflict of Christianity with British Druidism and Roman heathenism, that must have taken place, is lost. The latter doubtless was ready to fall to pieces from inherent weakness; and little effort can have been required to overthrow it. Of the former we are still too ignorant to make up, where there are no facts, opinions founded on the nature of the system. Their hierarchy was firmly established, exerting a pernicious and very powerful influence in all branches of the government; but what was the nature of their doctrines, whether they were theists or atheists, is still undetermined. Origen asks:² “When did Britain before the birth of Christ adopt the belief in one God?” And it is certainly a mistake of Camden

¹ Gildas c. 8. Bede l. 8.

² In Ezech. Hom. 4.

and Godwin, to maintain that Origen believed the doctrine of the divine unity to have been taught the Britons by the Druids.¹ The scattered notices that we have of the Druidical religion, tell us of heathen rites and offerings, and even of human sacrifices. The most that can be conceded is, that their secret doctrines, which yet they were obliged for their own advantage to conceal studiously from the people, embraced the great truth of the unity of God. But this could contribute nothing to the promotion of Christianity. The philosophers of Greece and Rome acknowledged the divine unity, and yet were opposers of the new religion which proclaimed on the house tops what they had taught only in secret. We may therefore regard as certain the fact of a conflict between Christianity and the Druids. The Irish traditions of which I shall soon speak, furnish additional reasons for believing it. The Scottish tradition also of Trathal, the grandfather of Fingal, who is said to have driven the Druids into exile, encourages the supposition that princes, weary of their hierarchy and their tyranny, may have thrown themselves into the arms of Christianity—as perhaps in the instance of the English Lucius above mentioned.

6. Of the first preaching of Christianity in Scotland we have only traditional information. The inhabitants of that country were entire strangers to Roman civilization;² although if we may believe the representations of the Ossianic poems, far from being such barbarians as they were represented by their neighbours, and in fact a noble race, capable of any improvement. They were called Caledonians. In the times of the Romans they were divided into two different races, Picts and Scots, who often made war on each other, and whose origin is still undetermined.³ That Tertullian's *Romanis inaccessa loca* need not necessarily be understood to mean North Britain, or the regions beyond the wall of Adrian, I have already remarked; but that in the thirty years preceding Constantine the intercourse between the Caledonians and the Romans, in war and peace, continued and increased, admits of no doubt. The Ossianic poems mention Caracal, son of the king of the world;⁴ and Ossian

¹ Stillingfleet, p. 57.

² Jerome. Ossian II. 241.

³ Finn. Magnusen.

⁴ Ossian II. 223. It is said that Fingal waged war against him in early youth.

speaks of his son Oscar's war with Caros (Carausius), the cotemporary of Diocletian.¹ We have even the tradition of a dialogue between Ossian and a Culdee; which however is made of little weight by another which introduces him in connexion with St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, who endeavoured to convert him,²—so that at most it only serves to show that missions to Scotland were spoken of in very early times.

Tradition mentions a Scottish king Donald, who received baptism, together with the queen, his children and many others, and at whose request Victor, bishop of Rome, sent teachers who effected the conversion of Scotland. This account is given by Hector Boethius, who wrote his History of Scotland in the year 1526. He probably obtained it from John Fordun's *Scoti-Chronicon*, written about the middle of the fourteenth century, where the same account is given more briefly and without any mention of Victor's name. In regard to occurrences of so early a period, the testimony of a witness who lived 1000 years afterwards is of little weight. But there may have prevailed in Scotland a tradition of the preaching of Christianity in the reign of the emperor Severus,—having some sort of connexion with that of Ossian's acquaintance with a Culdee. The name of the Roman bishop is chronologically correct. Victor died in the year 202. But how happened tradition to preserve this name as well as the event? It makes the account so much the more suspicious. When Fordun wrote, Scotland was catholic. All missions must of course have been sent out from Rome! Hence too the name of the pope! We shall see that, according to more authentic history, the first preachers of Christianity in Scotland were British and Irish instead of Romish priests. But it must be acknowledged in conclusion, that no history, even that of Ireland not excepted, is so fabulous and destitute of genuine and authentic documents, as that of Scotland; and even that when Scotland is named, one cannot be sure whether Ireland may not be meant.³

7. From its situation Ireland would naturally become acquainted with Christianity at a very late period; and yet we have very ancient accounts, which there seems to be no suffi-

¹ Ossian II. 224.

² Culdes are spoken of in Ossian. A Culdee is called son of the secret hall, (a hermit,) Ossian II. p. 391.

³ Stäudlin, p. 50, etc.

cient grounds for rejecting, of its first diffusion in that island. According to the old chronicles, a king named Cormac reigned there about the middle of the third century. Towards the conclusion of that century he is said to have resigned the government into the hands of his son Cairbar;¹ to have withdrawn into solitude, and devoted himself to studies connected with religion, legislation, and the art of government,—the results of which he committed to writing for the instruction of his successors. These studies led to a conviction of the vanity of heathenism and of the Druidical religion, to which he now declared his opposition, and publicly embracing the doctrine of the divine unity, he banished heathenism entirely from his house. His influence with the people was very great. The Druids became apprehensive of the overthrow of their system, and took great pains to bring him back to the faith of his ancestors. But he continued steadfast, and refuted their polytheism triumphantly. So far the Irish annals. Did we know more of this enlightened and for that age most remarkable prince, we might probably see how the seed sown by him sprung up and brought forth fruit on every side, till the appearance of St. Patrick about a hundred years later. As it is, we are able, with the assistance of other traditions, to show to some extent how the doctrines of the Druids became obnoxious to king Cormac.

The tyranny of the Druids had for a long time rendered them odious, and their power had declined because fewer of the nobility became connected with their order. Their overthrow in Scotland occurred about the middle of the second century. Trathal, Fingal's grandfather, was then chosen to command his countrymen in their war against the Romans—probably in the time of Adrian. On his return from the campaign, the Druids demanded that he should immediately resign. He refused to comply, and a civil war was the consequence. The Druids were defeated, and withdrew to the island of Hiona, Hy, or Iona; where the order was still kept up for a few generations till finally extinguished by St. Columba.² Hatred of the Druids thus became hereditary in the family of Trathal. His great-grandson Ossian never mentions them. Now Cormac was the son of Conar, a brother of king Trathal of Morven. He was elected king by the inhabitants of Ulster, to whose assistance he had been sent by Trathal.³ The Druids therefore, whose pow-

¹ Ossian II. 247.

² Gaelic Antiquities II. 242.

³ Poems of Ossian II. 247.

er in Scotland was about to come to an end, if not already quite lost, had reason to apprehend the same catastrophe in Ireland; and if they did not immediately suffer the like ruin, it was because Cormac attacked them with peaceful weapons only, and their overthrow was not effected by a civil war, as in Scotland.

8. Usher has estimated correctly the fables about missionaries who are said to have visited Ireland from apostolic times.¹ But the rejection of these is not saying that christian teachers from the neighbouring island did not pass over to preach Christianity there, especially after it became, under Constantine and his sons, the prevailing religion of the empire.² There are extant an evangelical history and some small poems of Coelius Sedulius, an Irishman, (he is called, it is true, Scotus, but Scotia means Ireland,) a Latin poet not without merit, belonging to a somewhat later age. He is said to have been a pupil of an Irish archbishop named Hildebert, who has sometimes been confounded with Hildebert of Mans,—the fact that the two individuals flourished in ages far distant from each other being overlooked. Now wherever Hildebert may have lived, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, an archbishop in Ireland he certainly was not. But Sedulius obtained his learning and accomplishments on his travels, especially in Italy. He is sometimes called Antistes and Episcopus, and sometimes Presbyter. Respecting all this however nothing can be determined. We only know that Balæus calls him Scotorum Australium Episcopus.³ But that writer is unworthy of credit. Ireland is said also to have had martyrs in those early times; whose names and the legends respecting them are cited by Usher. Leaving all these points undecided, we agree with the learned primate that there were Christians in Ireland before the time of Palladius.⁴ Of him, a cotemporary, Prosper of Aquitaine, says that he was sent, in 431, by bishop Cœlestin of Rome, to the Scots (Irish) who already believed in Christ, as their first bishop.⁵ He was probably a native Briton and a deacon of the Roman church. Now tradition tells of four individuals who had been bishops in Ireland before him.⁶ But we leave this to the *Acta Sanctorum*. Their names were Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibar. They must nevertheless have

¹ Prim. c. 16.

² Usher, p. 405.

³ Usher, 406.

⁴ *ibid.* 416.

⁵ Chron. ad h. a. in Canisii Lect. Antiq. I. p. 309.

⁶ Usher, p. 417 seq.

been cotemporary with St. Patrick; and although they also were sent from Rome, yet did not at first agree with him. This is perhaps the only truth in the whole story,—the statement, we mean, that Patrick, when he came to Ireland, met with opposition from some bishops there. Usher has taken great pains to reconcile the assertion of Prosper, that Palladius was the first bishop [*primus episcopus*] sent to Ireland by the bishop of Rome, with the opinion that there were bishops there before. Either the archiepiscopal dignity may be indicated by the word *primus*; or Palladius may have been the first bishop of two sent by Coelestin; or he may have been the first sent by the pope, his predecessors having received consecration in England or Gaul. Strict catholics, it is true, will acknowledge as bishops in the west only such as are dependant on the see of Rome; and this is the drift of all the later Irish legends.¹ The Irish biographies of St. Patrick contain some notices respecting the mission of Palladius. Some of them make him an archdeacon of the Roman church. It is said that Coelestin sent him to Ireland with twelve others, (twelve, probably because that was the number of the apostles,) and that, on arriving at Liginia, he was banished by king Nathi, son of Garchon. According to others he was persecuted by the heathen, and in peril of his life. Both may be true. Yet a few were baptized by him, and he built three small wooden chapels. He also left there four schools, to which he gave his books and some relics of the prince of the apostles. These are said to be preserved in a monastery founded by him. On his way back to Rome he was arrested by death in England, not far from the Pictish border.²

9. Patrick preached to the Irish with more success, and won for himself the name of their apostle.³ His father was a deacon, his grandfather a presbyter, and his mother a sister of St. Martin of Tours. He was born at Ailcluade, Ossian's Balcluta, near the wall of Severus and not far from Glasgow. The place then belonged to England, but now to Scotland, and has received in honour of him the name of Kirkpatrick. The year of his birth is variously stated; Usher fixes on 372. In his early youth his parents removed to Armorica; where they still resided when the Irish king O'Neil the Great, with an army of Irishmen and Scots, made an incursion into England and across to the opposite coast of Armorica, plundering the country and carrying away captives.

¹ Stäudlin, 40.

² Usher, 423 seq.

³ Usher, 426.

In this way Patrick, then in his 16th year, and two of his sisters were sold in Ireland. His treatment while a captive was harsh. For six years he was obliged to serve as a neat-herd; in the seventh, custom and the laws restored him to liberty. After his return home he soon felt a strong desire to go back and preach the gospel in Ireland, but some circumstances unknown to us prevented the gratification of his wish. His history for several succeeding years is involved in obscurity, and blended with stories of other captivities, the third of which at least seems to be coincident with the first. He spent four years with his uncle Martin of Tours, under whose guidance he prepared himself for the sacred office, and by whom he was invested with the tonsure and admitted to the orders of deacon and priest.¹ In 402, the year after Martin's death, Patrick, then thirty years old, went to Rome. He met, on his way, bishops Declan and Kieran returning to Ireland. At Rome he applied himself closely to his studies, living with the canons of the Lateran church; and afterwards visited many islands of the Tyrrhene sea, the residence of monks and anchorites. In 432, according to Usher, one year after the death of St. Palladius, pope Coelestin sent him to Ireland. He had before been consecrated bishop, it is not known by whom, or whether in Gaul or at Rome. Many other individuals, probably Britons and Irishmen, were at the same time admitted to the lower orders of the ministry. He landed in Ireland, with twenty-four or according to others thirty-four companions, in the first year of Sixtus bishop of Rome. Nathi, the same prince who had successfully resisted Palladius, opposed him also. Another prince however, Sinell, son of Finchad, was open to conviction, and was the first Irishman that Patrick baptized. Thence he sailed to a small island near the coast of the earldom of Dublin, which received from him the name of Holm-Patrick. He then passed over to the coast of Ulster, and visited his old master, prince Mikon of dal Araida.² There he was joined by Cernoch, or as the English call him Carantocus, the son of a British prince, who came to share his labours. They agreed however to go, one to the right hand and the other to the left, and to meet but once a year. Easter being now at hand, Patrick determined to go with his attendants to Tara—the Temora so celebrated in the poems of Ossian, the

¹ Usher, 434.

² Usher, 441. Other particulars in Stäudlin, 43.

residence of the Irish king and the chief seat of Irish heathenism—in order that there, according to Ps. 74: 14, the Lord might break the head of Leviathan in pieces. They went by water, and on arriving at Temora found the king, the princes, and the Druids just assembled for the celebration of a great festival. On the first day of Easter, Patrick with two of his pupils appeared in the midst of the festivities and requested to be heard. His sermon made a deep impression. The example of the queen influenced the multitude; and finally the king also determined to embrace Christianity, which then made rapid progress through the country.¹ The civilization of the people, and probably also their weariness of the domination of the Druids, prepared the way for Christianity. Patrick and his fellow labourers were unwearied in preaching; they travelled over the whole country, addressing themselves to princes and men of rank, and succeeded beyond all expectation. To follow them in their travels would be a kind of detail improper here, and appropriate only for a history. The chief idol of Ireland was Crom-Cruach. It was of gold and silver, and stood at Magh-slecht, surrounded by twelve stone ones (some say they were of brass and smaller) with gilded faces. To this the Irish sacrificed their first-born, and bowed themselves so often with face, arms, and knees to the earth, that three-fourths of the people died in consequence!! Hence the name, Magh-slecht—the place of bowing. This was exactly the Phœnician Baal; and the Irish too affirm, not without reason, that the horrid practice of human sacrifices was introduced into Ireland by the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. It is said that Patrick saw this, and that the idol was broken in pieces while he was praying.² The circumstance is related as a miracle, and some accounts add, that it was when Patrick raised his staff against it in a threatening manner that the idol fell, and that the twelve others sunk into the earth, their heads only projecting above ground. Where the people were weary of the burden of heathenism, such miracles might occur without difficulty.

Churches were everywhere erected; but the establishment of episcopal sees was deferred while Patrick continued to itinerate. It was commenced about ten years after his arrival in the country. The earliest episcopal see was that of Clo-

¹ Staudlin 44.

² Bibliotheca Ms. Stowensis I, p. 41, 42.

gher, which he at first made his own residence. Afterwards he invested another with that dignity, and went himself to Armagh, where a large tract of land had been given him, and where he built a town of important institutions—a cathedral, many other churches, and monasteries; filled it with inhabitants, and established schools. Here it was his purpose to fix the metropolitan see. He now proceeded to obtain more assistants from England, whom he consecrated as bishops; and afterwards, it is not certain in what year, held a synod at Armagh for the organization of the infant church. The canons¹ show that every thing was yet quite unregulated; that there were even at that time in Ireland clergymen who indulged themselves in licentious and indecorous practices; and that monks and nuns were found there. Patrick held another synod, some of whose canons also are extant; such as ecclesiastical ordinances collected from its records at a later period. The date of this second synod is likewise unknown. Patrick's residence at his archiepiscopal church was not of long continuance. He again undertook missionary tours; on which we will follow him no further than to say, that he made converts of prince and people in the region where Dublin now stands, laid the foundation of the Dublin cathedral, and appointed a bishop; that, in Munster, where Christianity already had some confessors, he won over the king and the nobility, and at a synod which he held there made Emly the metropolitan see of the province; and that he thence returned again to Leinster, where, in addition to his other labours, he took part in political affairs. It was through his influence that king Logary II collected the ancient records relating to the history of Ireland, purified them from the stains of heathenism, placed them in the public archives, and caused copies of them to be put into the hands of the bishops for preservation in the churches. The same improvement was also undertaken in regard to the laws; they were entered in what was called the *King's Psalter*,² which was deposited in the royal palace.

Thus did Patrick exert a beneficent influence on the civilization of the kingdom. He went systematically to work. It was now, when order reigned throughout, that he was first able to divide into provinces the churches and monasteries that he

¹ Wilkins' Concil. M. B. I, p. 8.

² Stäudlin, p. 46, 47. There is a manuscript of the *Psalter of Cashel* in the Bodleian Library. See Biblioth. Ms. Stowensis, I, 165.

had founded, and to provide, by tithes and other sources of income, for the support of the priesthood. Of course the abandoned lands and other property of the Druids must first of all have been devoted to that purpose. Care also must doubtless have been taken that the people should not, by the imposition of many novel taxes, be prejudiced against the new religion in the outset. What was transferred from the old to the new, was not felt as a burden, since the people were accustomed to it.

After his return to Armagh, he named Benignus, whom he had consecrated bishop, as his successor there,—probably that he might be able to devote himself entirely to the missionary work, which he afterwards prosecuted indefatigably in Leinster and the northern parts of Ulster. Some years after he visited Rome, where Leo the Great was then pope, probably for the purpose of perfecting his ecclesiastical organization after the model of the Roman; for the particular objects of his journey are not known. So much as this however, is certain,—that nothing was further from his thoughts, highly as he revered the Roman bishop, than to subject the Irish church to the Roman pontificate. He always acted in his own name, not in that of the pope. In connexion with the king, the clergy, and the laity, he appointed and consecrated the bishops. On his return through England he made known the rules of the monastic order founded by him (*cursus Scotorum*), and took bishops and monks with him to Ireland. In Ireland itself he was no longer archbishop of Armagh, but in fact the father of priests and people, invested with all the power that filial reverence, love, and confidence could give, which he used to promote the best interests of the whole. It was apostolic power that he exercised, and in the strength of which he travelled about, teaching, holding synods, correcting irregularities, introducing discipline into the churches, etc. In such labours he still continued for a series of years his active and most useful life. He retired finally to the monastery of Paul at Armagh to spend his last days, and died there in extreme old age, having reached his one hundred and twentieth year.¹ His miracles history is willing to pass over in silence. Indeed they are mostly legends of a later century. Such a man allowed himself to practise no deception; nor did he need it. That a grateful people should place him over their altars was very natural. Few have deserved such religious

¹ See Stäudlin.

celebration of their memory as he and Ansharius. The biographies of him, Irish and Latin, are numerous. Usher has noticed the most important of them. According to his account there are sixty-five or sixty-six different ones. They are replete with fables and legends; but the truth may nevertheless be discovered in them. Jocelin in the 12th century used the more ancient ones for his life of this saint. His history is minutely, but as may readily be conceived, not critically related in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March 17. The fable of St. Patrick's purgatory, which may in some respects be compared with the cave of Trophonius in Bœotia, is now forgotten.¹ The place itself was destroyed by the protestants about the end of the seventeenth century.

PART II.

Schools and Learning in Great Britain and Ireland.

1. In the centuries immediately succeeding the great migration of nations, while all Europe sank more and more into barbarism, Ireland was still a bright spot; or more properly, the light of the east of Europe had retired into this island, lately civilized through the influence of Christianity, and began thence to throw its rays back upon the continent. This is the more surprising, as Ireland was never subject to the Romans, to whom all the other countries of western Europe were indebted for their civilization; and the fact remains certain, whatsoever of fable modern writers may have laboured to point out in the antiquities and early history of the island. The previous barbarism of the people, to which, but a short time before Christianity became known in Ireland, Jerome testifies, in no way conflicts with this statement. Even in that savage period, the character and state of the people must have been such as to afford great advantages for improvement. This is proved by the Ossianic poems, many of which picture to the life events that occurred on the soil of Ireland. In the cultivated state of the Irish in the eighth century we see the great progress which they had then made; and that this was not effected in a short time, but must have been the work of several gen-

¹ *Heiligen-Lexicon*, p. 1953. Casp. Löcher de fabuloso Patricii Purgatorio, Lips. 1670. *Campion's History of Ireland*, Dublin 1633, p. 39.

erations, certainly requires no proof. I feel myself at liberty to be the more brief here, because Thorkelin has placed the subject in the proper light in a separate essay,¹ and it will answer my present purpose just to mention the leading facts.

2. As early as the time of Tacitus the Irish seaports were better known than those of England, being places of more commerce. The origin of the linen manufacture of Ireland is lost in the remotest antiquity. The most ancient laws that have been preserved, prove also that when they were enacted agriculture and the breeding of cattle were in a flourishing state. The forests according to their prescriptions were enclosed. The cultivation of fruit was attended to, and the vine was not unknown to the Irish. The mechanic arts too were any thing but in their infancy. Carriages were used for travelling, which could not have been thought of without highways; and to them accordingly great attention was paid. On the mountains there were houses for the accommodation of travellers. The metals too were known. The Irish at an early period opened rich iron mines in their own country; so that they no longer found it necessary to purchase that metal from Celtiberian Spain.² Mineral coal for the forges was found in their own island. Of gold and silver they had an abundance, and wrought them into ornamental articles. In the country itself there was a flourishing domestic trade, fairs being held at regular times; and notwithstanding the very strict enforcement of the law by which all wrecks became the property of the lord of the adjacent coast, and the navigators his slaves, foreign commerce also prospered. The Irish visited foreign ports. They were acquainted with Iceland before the settlement of the Norwegians; and probably had a factory there, which they afterwards abandoned. They however visited the island in later times; for otherwise we cannot account for the canons of the Icelandic bishops against them. Their adventurous spirit led them even to voyages of discovery into the wide ocean, and very probably even to America.³ So much sagacity,

¹ "Beviis at de Irske ved Ostmannernes Ankomst til Irland i det ottende Aarhundrede forliene en udmaerket Rang plandt de mest oplyste Folk i Europa paa de Tider." At the end of the fourth volume of the *New Transactions of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences*, 1793.

² Iron is called in Celtiberian, *hierro*; in Irish, *ieran*, *irvan*; whence the English *iron*, the Norse *iern*, and Danish *iern*.

³ Thorkelin, 579.

activity, and dexterity in arts and trades, in commerce, and in the affairs of civil life, cannot be supposed to exist without intellectual cultivation. And that the Irish were not destitute of it is perfectly clear.

3. The Druids may have led the way. They certainly confined themselves however to their own class and to the nobility. The influence of the Bards was in all probability much greater. They gave life to the imagination, awakened the feelings, cultivated the language. Many of the Ossianic poems, *Cuchullin* for instance, whose story tradition is to this day able to relate,¹ are Irish. The Irish at least are acquainted with that poem, and that it was composed before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland hardly admits of a doubt.² But it was Christianity that gave to the cultivation of these islanders its proper direction, and educated in the monasteries those who became the nation's teachers in science as well as religion, and scattered light abroad not only in England and Scotland, but across the channel into France and even to the heart of Germany. To these monasteries let our attention now be directed.

The monastery of Banchor, or Bangor, in England (to be carefully distinguished from the episcopal see of the same name, situated in Wales not far from Chester,) was one of high celebrity from the time of the British kings.³ It is said to have contained 2400 monks, who, being divided into classes of 100, and relieving each other every hour, performed divine service day and night without intermission, like the *Accemeti* of Constantinople. This monastery sent forth numerous missionaries, who diffused Christianity on the continent.⁴ The study of the sciences was successfully prosecuted in it; and if it is true that Pelagius was born in the vicinity and was a monk there, it may be inferred that the instruction given to young ecclesiastics did not relate so much to inquiries into the being and attributes of God, as was customary in the east and in Greece, but rather to religious anthropology; and that this was the occasion of his adopting and cherishing the opinions associated with his name. But it would

¹ Luath.

² The heathen Irish had already a written language. Stäudlin, I. 38, 46.

³ Stillingfleet, 205. Stäudlin I. 37. The Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages were taught there; *ibid.* 120.

⁴ Stillingfleet, 205. Foe and Richardson's Tour, II. 387.

probably be difficult to adduce proof that Pelagius actually received his education at Bangor. Walch, at least, seems, in his History of Heresies, either not to have known or not to have credited the tradition. This monastery, which was in its most flourishing state when Augustine came to England, has now disappeared entirely; not even its ruins are any longer to be seen. It was during the irruption of the Danes, who were still heathens and had a bitter hatred of churches and monasteries, that it was assailed the most roughly.

4. It is well known that learning flourished greatly in England in the eighth century. Bede is a name of distinguished celebrity. But for him we should have known nothing of the early ecclesiastical history of England. Still more celebrated is the name of his pupil Alcuin.¹ Both, it is true, were of the conquering party, being Anglo-Saxons. But there was certainly even then a scientific intercourse at least between that people and the Britons. Otherwise we cannot conceive through what channel the Irish, who were never subject either to the Angles or the Romans, obtained their learning and sciences. It is at least the common opinion, and one never yet refuted, not even by Tiraboschi, that Charlemagne, to establish schools in Italy, was under the necessity of sending thither learned men from England and Ireland; and even if this opinion is unfounded, it is yet at least certain that these countries were then the only sanctuaries of learning.² Many schools were established there, and among them distinguished ones at Canterbury and York; the former, under the influence of the Latin, and the latter doubtless controlled directly or indirectly by the primitive British priesthood, the Culdees, who had the principal agency in the establishment of Christianity in the north of England. These schools, as was generally the case in those times, were seminaries for ecclesiastics and for the nobility, even those of the highest rank. For kings and princes sent their sons thither, who brought with them to the throne a love of learning thus imbibed. Among these Alfred is known as distinguished above all others. Their libraries were valuable. In the seventh century, books were carried from Italy to England; now, under Charlemagne, they were

¹ See, respecting both, Heeren's *Geschichte d. St. d. kl. Liter.* I. 113. John Scotus *Erigena*. Stäudlin I. 127. Adamann, Bp. at Iona, *de locis Terræ Sanctæ*.

² Heeren's *Gesch. d. Stud. der klass. Literatur*, I. 104.

sought for, classic as well as ecclesiastical, Latin as well as Greek,¹ in the latter country and in Ireland.² The library that Egbert, Alcuin's preceptor, who was a brother of Eadbert king of Northumberland, collected in the archiepiscopal residence at York, was much celebrated as the most extensive one of the times.³ We have a poetical description of it by Alcuin himself, from which we can see what were the treasures it contained. They were chiefly Latin authors, although some Greek ones are also named, and among them Aristotle and Chrysostom. Hebrew manuscripts also are mentioned.⁴ Now such manuscripts were industriously transcribed by the Anglo-Saxon and British monks—even Alcuin having subjected himself to that kind of labour. Of all these treasures there is nothing extant, so far as we know, except what may be preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge, founded, tradition says, by Edward; the son and successor of Alfred; or what may at a later period have found a place of safety in Oxford. The plundering incursions of the Danes, who for more than a hundred years prosecuted with unheard of fury the work of destroying churches and monasteries, annihilated everything in those parts of both England and Ireland of which they had possession; and besides, the native princes waged against each other incessant civil wars, in which the country was laid waste with fire and sword.

5. About the middle of the sixth century, in 563 or 565, Columba founded the monastery on the island of Y-Kolmkill, best known under the name of Iona. It soon became a nursery of learning. From it also went forth the missionaries who planted Christianity in Scotland. Alas! of the library there, only uncertain reports have reached us. It is said that there was a Scottish king named Fergus II, that he accompanied Alaric the Goth, and that he sent to the monastery of Iona a box of books—being part of the booty obtained by him at the sacking of Rome.⁵ This story however is inconsistent with chronology;

¹ Archbishop Theodore's Greek Library. The disputes about Easter show that the Greek Fathers were known. Stäudlin I. 20. Cramer's Bossuet, V. 2, 85 sq.

² Alcuin's Letter to Charlemagne, Opera I. p. 52. ep. 38.

³ Heeren, p. 110 seq.

⁴ *De Pontific. et sanctis eccles. Eborac.* ap. Gale I. p. 730.

⁵ Jamieson, 303.

for Rome was plundered by Alaric in the year 410, more than a hundred years before Columba, who is said to have been born in 521. There was a report that the lost books of Livy were preserved in this library. Aeneas Sylvius (afterwards pope Pius II) intended, when in Scotland, to visit Iona to search for them, but was prevented by the death of king James I. A small fragment of what was reputed to be a manuscript of Livy, was brought to Aberdeen in 1525. It was ancient and difficult to decipher; but what could be read resembled the style of Sallust more than that of Livy. It was most probably a false report. Livy has been sought for everywhere, throughout the civilized world. A little before the Reformation there was a report that the lost books existed in the cathedral library at Drontheim; and it was pretended that, on inquiry, they were found to have been carried thence to Holland and there lost. And again, there was a story forty years ago that they existed in an Arabic translation in the emperor's library at Fez; but neither has this proved to be true. Of the existence of a collection of books at Iona, however, there can be no doubt. Otherwise Aeneas Sylvius would never have resolved on a journey thither. Boethius too had undeniable proof of it. After two fruitless applications, he obtained, in answer to the third, through the mediation of John Campbell the royal treasurer, a promise that the old manuscripts should be sent to him at Aberdeen;¹ and he actually received them. But, except the fragment that had been called a Livy, they seem to have consisted entirely of Scottish history and records, of which nothing has since been heard;—a circumstance that has brought upon Boethius the suspicion that, after availing himself of their contents, he destroyed them. Jamieson (p. 118) mentions other books that were probably once at Iona. The monks were celebrated for their medical skill.

The priory of the Culdees at Lochleven, also, which was given up to the Canonici Regulares about the year 1150, had a library.² A catalogue of it is still extant. But none of the lost works of antiquity are found on the list. It is made up of the Gospels and the Acts in Latin, choir books, missals, and some theological works of comparatively modern date. Not a single complete copy of the New Testament, to say nothing of the Old!³ This catalogue must of course satisfy us, that no very high opinion is to be cherished of the state of learning in that priory.

¹ Jamieson, 307.² *ibid.* 135.³ *ibid.* 376—77.

But it furnishes another item of information : the Latin ritual was observed there when the catalogue was made ; so the library may have been collected at a later period. There are said to have been libraries at Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrews. The history of the first runs back into remote antiquity. It was probably founded in the beginning of the seventh century. It appears that there was a school there.¹ We know absolutely nothing of the library at Dunkeld ; but as that monastery was in such high repute, and, after the destruction of Iona by the Danes in the year 801, was regarded as a second Iona and took its place, it is extremely probable that there was a school and a collection of books there also.² Of St. Andrews, since the seat of the primates of Scotland, the same might be presumed, even if Jamieson had not adduced express testimony to that effect.³

We cannot therefore form any very high opinion of the learning of the Culdees in the Scottish and Irish monasteries. The comparative purity of their religious views resulted from their separation from the other churches. They preserved the ancient doctrines of the East the more pure, because they came so little into contact with the other parts of Christendom, and because the usurpations of the Roman bishops and their adherents soon introduced a forced connexion. Of Greek literature they had none at all. At Iona there was in the ninth century a single work of Chrysostom ;⁴ and in the monastery of Lochleven there seems to have been something of Origen's. That they had the older Latin fathers is not improbable. In the controversies between Augustine and their countryman Pelagius, they must have taken—provided they understood the language—a lively interest. But their own literature was not barren.⁵ They read the Bible in the Irish language ; and a catalogue recently published shows what a large number of manuscripts are still extant in the Erse, (i. e. Gaelic,) which was understood in Ireland as well as in Scotland.—An inquiry into the extent of their knowledge in other departments would be foreign to our present purpose. Whether, for instance, they were versed in mathematics and in architecture, and were closely connected with the ancient architectural associations of England and Scotland, between which

¹ Jamieson, 113, 114.

² *ibid.* 137, 138.

³ *ibid.* 135.

⁴ Jamieson, 316.

⁵ They had even a Christian Latin poet, Sedulius, who was probably an Irishman. Stäudlin, I. 52.

and primitive freemasonry modern writers have attempted to show a connexion,¹—we must leave for others to determine.

6. We can here only instance the connexion, whether accidental or designedly formed, which they appear to have had with Constantinople in the ninth century. The anonymous author of the *Life of St. Chrysostom*² relates, that some ecclesiastics from a people who dwelt in the extreme parts of the earth, came to the royal city (Constantinople), to make inquiries respecting some ecclesiastical traditions, and especially the observance and exact computation of Easter; and that they visited the patriarch resident there. This patriarch must have been Methodius, who held the office from 842 to 847. To the question whence they came, they answered, from the schools of the ocean. They had, they said, a single work of father Chrysostom, which taught them clearly the faith, and to observe strictly the commandments. It was dear and precious to all; passed from one hand to another; was diligently transcribed; and there was no place and no family amongst them that was destitute of so important a treasure.³ It is difficult to determine whether these monks were from Iona or from Ireland, or indeed how much truth there may be in the whole account. But it is easy to conceive how Scots, and Irishmen too, might be acquainted with Constantinople, when we remember that Englishmen were to be found in the northern life-guard of the emperor, called Varagians. And in the ninth century this life-guard had already been organized.

¹ Krause, *Drey Kunsturkunden*.

² Written after the year 950. Cave.

³ Toland, *Nazarenus*, p. 5, 6. Jamieson, 316—17.

ART. III.—GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY.

From the London Quarterly Review.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

The direct bearing which the subject of Greek Lexicography in general has upon the proper study of the New Testament, is a sufficient apology, if any were demanded, for inserting in a work devoted to Biblical Literature, the following able article from a cotemporary foreign journal. It is found in the latest number of the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LI, No. 101. References in it to a similar though less general article in No. 44 of the same work, and a comparison with that article, furnish intrinsic evidence that it comes from the same author, Dr Blomfield, the present bishop of London, one of the most accomplished Greek scholars of the age. A brother of his, the translator of Matthiæ's Grammar, was still more distinguished; but died in early life. To him allusion is made in the first paragraph below.

This essay will be found not merely a valuable critique and contribution to literary history; but it everywhere brings into view and discusses the true principles on which the study of the Greek language (and of course every other) ought to be prosecuted. The absurdity of studying one dead language through the medium of another, is fully set forth; and this exhibition was to us the more gratifying, as it corresponds entirely with the views which we had many years ago occasion to express. But more than this; Dr Blomfield, in laying down proper rules for the compilation of a lexicon, gives also necessarily the rules which ought to direct the private student in the investigation of the words of a language; since a good lexicon is and can be only a record of the results, at which the student aims to arrive. In respect to every word, he investigates its origin, its fundamental form and signification, the various forms and senses in which it has been used in the different epochs and dialects of the language, and the manner and order in which all these are derived from the radical one and from each other; and when

all these points are properly ascertained and arranged in his own mind, then and not till then, is he master of the word in question. The transcript of this view, with the necessary vouchers, is the lexicography of that word. To Passow, the writer of the following article strongly and justly ascribes the merit of having first applied this method to the Greek language; but Passow would himself have been the last to claim this as an exclusive merit. It seems to have been rather the general result of a better method of philosophical study, which has sprung up during the present century among the scholars of Germany; and in respect to which the names of Hermann, Buttmann, Jacobs, Passow, Tittmann, Winer, and others, are particularly conspicuous so far as relates to the Greek language. The same method was applied with great success to the Hebrew by Gesenius, so early as 1810; and to him in truth belongs the merit of having first exemplified it, in its full application to the lexicography of any language. The principles on which he proceeded, may be seen in the preface to the editions of his lexicon of 1810, 1823, and 1827; and in the *Bibl. Repos.* Vol. III. p. 39 sq. They are the same, *ceteris paribus*, as the rules given by Dr Blomfield towards the close of the present article.

Some of the admissions of the reviewer in respect to the state of the *critical* study of the languages, or rather the study of philology as a science, in England, may perhaps be startling to the American reader; but a course of not cursory observation for several years past, has long since convinced us, that they are not too broad. The remarks on Donnegan's *Lexicon* we had thoughts, at first, of omitting; but we believe that every American student ought to know the exact literary value of every work put into his hands as a daily guide; and as we happen to know that the opinions here expressed and fully sustained by proof, are also entertained by some of the first Greek scholars in our own country, we have felt it to be our duty to give that portion of the article entire.—EDITOR.

1. *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, von J. G. SCHNEIDER, Professor and Oberbibliothekar zu Breslau. Dritte Ausgabe. 2 Bde. 4to. Leipzig 1819.
2. *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*, von FRANZ PASSOW. Vierte Ausgabe. 2 Bde. 8vo. Leipzig 1830—1831.
3. *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*, ab HENRICO STEPHANO constructus. Post editionem Anglicam novis additamentis auctum, ordineque

alphabetico digestum, tertio ediderunt, C. B. HASE, etc. Parisii. 1831.

4. *A New Greek and English Lexicon, principally on the plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider, etc.* by JAMES DONNEGAN, M. D. 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1st Ed. 1826. 2d Ed. 1831.

WHILE we pride ourselves, and with reason, in having left our continental neighbours at an immeasurable distance behind us in all the great branches of the arts, and are at least keeping pace with them in the different departments of science, we are contented, it seems, to hold in our classical knowledge a quite secondary rank. In the study of the dead languages in general, but more particularly of the Greek and Latin, the Germans have taken the lead, not only of us, but of all the rest of Europe, and have gained such a decided ascendancy, that their neighbours appear to have given up all hope of rivalling them, and are satisfied to follow as mere servile imitators of their triumphant career. Some splendid exceptions may be found in the names of Porson, Elmsley, Gaisford, Blomfield, Mitchell, and perhaps one or two others, who have ventured to think and examine for themselves, and whose exertions in the service of Greek literature have placed them on a level with the most distinguished of their cotemporaries; but when we consider how universally ancient Greek is studied in this country, it seems surprising that such instances of acknowledged superiority should be so rare amongst us. But the fact is, that the study of Greek with us is any thing but critical, and it must follow as a necessary consequence, any thing but deep and accurate. With some it is the fashion to look down on the labours of the critic as beneath the notice and even incompatible with the character of the excellent scholar; others are satisfied with a very superficial knowledge of the classics, preferring to rove through the modern languages or some of the numerous branches of science—ambitious perhaps of being what is termed general scholars; and others again are cut short in their classical career, being obliged to dedicate their time and talents to the particular studies of some profession. Whatever the causes may be, the fact cannot be denied, that we have comparatively few really classical scholars, few who enter deeply into the study of the Greek language, into the examination of its structure, of its formations, of its analogies. In proof of which we need say no more than this, that for the best edition of almost every Greek classic, and the best

notes of every edition, we are generally indebted to our German neighbours; that the best, nay the only Greek grammars worthy of the name, are those of Buttmann, of Matthiæ, of Thiersch; and the only Greek lexicons of any value since the time of Stephanus and Scapula, are two of those named at the head of this article, the recent Works of Schneider and Passow.

It is not our present intention to examine into the causes of this superiority of the German classics over all their neighbours, though we do hope, at no distant time, to dedicate a few of our pages to a subject which we have much at heart; at present we will confine ourselves to one point of primary importance—that which must be the first step to any decisive advance in our knowledge of ancient Greek—we mean the possession of an accurate and comprehensive lexicon of that language explained in our own tongue.

Until within a very few years it has been impossible to get at Greek but through the medium of Latin. No Greek lexicon—nay, no Greek grammar* has been composed but in that language; and every commentator and almost every translator has been forced to adopt it, as the only vehicle by which he could venture to explain his author, as the only armour in which he could dare to enter the lists of criticism. Had an English scholar proposed, but a few years ago, to publish a Greek and English lexicon, his adventure would have been received with either disregard or contempt, his scholarship would have been called in question because he had condescended to use his mother tongue in preference to a dead language, and the whole host of university tutors and country school masters would have taken fright at so degrading a novelty. But the opinion of the English classical world has of late undergone, in this particular, a complete revolution. We have begun to acknowledge that the short and straight course is preferable to the longer and devious one; that our own mother tongue is a better medium for expressing our ideas clearly and definitely than any dead language can be; and that by rendering a Greek word at once into English, instead of tracing it through the intricacies of Latin, (a language certainly less analogous to it than English,) there is a much better chance of the original idea being preserved exact and accurate; any fine and delicate distinguishing points are less liable

* The Port-Royal is an honourable exception, and we might perhaps name one more; but such rare exceptions are not enough to invalidate our assertion.

to be rubbed off; and shades of difference, which would very probably be lost in the uncertain obscurity of a dead language, are seen more plainly and can be marked more distinctly. In this, as in almost every other part of classical literature, the Germans have led the way, and set us an example which at last we seem anxious to follow.

We propose in this article to examine what progress the Germans have made in this their new line of lexicography, and whether the steps which we are taking in imitation of them (few and feeble they have hitherto been) are those best calculated to lead to excellence—most likely to advance us, be it ever so little, in the road towards perfection. For, in the commencement of this new career, it behoves us most especially to remember the old maxim, ἀρχὴ τὸ ἥμισυ. If we set out on true principles, our knowledge and our studies will all turn to good account, and even any errors we may make, not being fundamental, will be easily corrected; whereas, if our first principles be erroneous, whatever time and talents we afterwards bestow, must be in a great measure thrown away, and even that which is intrinsically valuable will be comparatively of little service. We intend, therefore, to examine minutely the different lexicons named at the head of this article, in order that, having seen their merits and defects, how far their authors have succeeded, and in what respects and why they have failed, we may be able to profit by experience, and to lay down such rules for the direction of future lexicographers, as may enable them to avoid the faults and improve on the excellences of their predecessors. For be it always remembered, that no single scholar, however great his talents and perseverance, can hope to produce at once a lexicon which shall make any near approach to perfection: it is only by repeated attempts, each improving on the former, that this most desirable object, can, if ever, be brought about.

The lexicon of Schneider has been in general use for some years in Germany, and—in name, at least—is well known to the scholars of this country. Its author was principal librarian at Breslau, and the well known editor of some of the best editions of different classics. The first idea of a Greek lexicon, interpreted in German, did not emanate from Schneider. It would be unfair to pass over, in total silence, the names of Dillenius, Vollbeding, and Haase, who at different times meritoriously preceded him, and set him that example which he has so well followed up, that his name must always be known as the

father of Greek and German lexicography. The first edition of *Schneider's Lexicon* appeared in 1806; but that was only in octavo, and did not profess to be more than a manual for younger students. In a few years appeared a second edition, considerably improved and enlarged; and in 1819 came out the third and last edition, in two thick and closely printed quarto volumes, followed, in 1821, by an Appendix, containing 180 additional pages. This last edition, which is a stupendous example of German industry, perseverance, and research, combined with an extensive knowledge of the Greek language, superseded at once, in the German universities, the use of every other lexicon, and fairly drove them all out of the field,—so much so, that Scapula's, even the Elzevir edition of 1652, we have seen sold in Germany for a few shillings.

The superior excellence of *Schneider's* lexicon consists in the amazing copiousness of its valuable matter; but this excellence is woefully counterbalanced by a total want of arrangement. Wherever a word, from the uncertainty or from the variety of its derivation or meanings, admits of, or requires a lengthened discussion, we have generally almost everything which can be desired, and sometimes a great deal more; but whether we find the original meaning at the beginning, middle, or end of the article,—whether the primary sense comes before or after the derivative, seems to be a mere matter of chance, according as *Schneider* met with it earlier or later in the course of his reading. *Schneider's* first edition of his lexicon was only a manual. When he was preparing his second and third editions, and examining (as he tells us in one of the prefaces) a number of different Greek authors with that view, it is to be lamented that he did not regularly revise and remodel his whole work, instead of patching it here and there with additions and improvements, as chance or opportunity led him. But it would seem that his other avocations took up too much of his time to allow of his following any plan of this kind; that, as he went on reading his authors and any passage or meaning struck him as worthy of remark, he added it at once to the article under which it should be placed, without examining whether it ought not rather to be incorporated into some other part. On no other grounds can we understand or explain the total want of arrangement in almost every article of any length, while we find quotation on quotation, and reference on reference, the whole so jumbled and confused together as frequently to require two or three readings to digest or

unravel. Merely casting our eyes over a few of the first pages of the lexicon, we may cite as instances of this defect, *ἀβρός, ἀγῆμα, ἀγκῶν, ἀγορά, ἄγω, ἀγωνιάω, ἀδέω, ἀδινός, ἀδρός, ἄζα, ἀθρόος, αἰανής, αἰδέομαι, αἰόλος*, etc.

In like manner, a confused series of quotations, and references, and meanings constantly follow each other, and are so intermingled, that it is frequently impossible to know, without consulting the passages referred to, whether any particular meaning or quotation is intended to belong to the preceding or to the succeeding reference. This arises entirely from the careless and slovenly manner in which the quotations are noted down—the meaning given being placed sometimes *before* and sometimes *after* the passage to which it belongs—from a constant want of proper pointing—and from a total absence of capital letters, with which each fresh meaning or quotation ought to begin. This fault, like the former, disfigures almost every article of any considerable length.

And again, we might have expected that Schneider would make a point of quoting—as his authority for the meaning of a word—the most ancient, or one of the purest writers in which it occurs; that where, for instance, a word or a meaning was found in the old epic language of Homer, we should find Homer cited as the example. But, strange to say, Schneider has so much neglected, except in a few articles, those primeval monuments of the Greek language, that he frequently refers us to Apollonius Rhodius, Nicander, Oppian, Quintus Smyrnæus, or Nonnus, where he ought to have quoted the *Illiad* or the *Odyssey*; and in general we should think it more likely to meet with the solution of a difficulty occurring in some one of those later and comparatively unknown writers, than in those of an earlier and more classical period—of Homer, of Herodotus, of Pindar, or of Plato.*

Nor did Schneider sufficiently attend to the grammatical part of his lexicon. His strength did not lie in being an accurate grammarian. The consequences are, that he not only did not weed out numerous ungrammatical words and forms, which had been introduced, from time to time, into former lexicons, until their legitimacy had almost ceased to be doubted; but he and his fellow-labourers† have deluged his lexicon with a fresh flood

* Schneider had previously published a very excellent edition of Nicander and Oppian.

† Schneider had associated with him, in preparing his lexicon, two

of doubtful words and forms, either drawn from unauthentic and disputed sources, or fabricated in order to trace some supposed analogy, or to form a link in some etymological chain. There can be no doubt of Schneider having been fully justified in introducing, from the old grammarians, or even in *supposing* the existence of those old and obsolete forms of verbs, of which there still remain some tenses in use; but he has constantly carried this liberty further than was justifiable. In giving the tenses of the verbs, however, Schneider has not been so liberal: there we find constant and considerable deficiencies, as well as frequent inaccuracies. His principal attention seems to have been directed to the meaning of the word,—very little to its inflexions: nor does he appear to have ever thought of making any distinction between passive, middle, and deponent verbs, which, being so often similar in appearance, and so easily confounded with each other, require, therefore, to be marked with the greater care. As to the deponents, they are not even mentioned, from the beginning of the lexicon to the end. The particles, too—those most important parts of the Greek language, whose all-pervading influence is felt in every limb of every sentence—are invariably dismissed with a brief and unsatisfactory notice. The fact is, that Schneider's *forte* lay in natural history, in a most comprehensive knowledge of the natural productions alluded to by the ancients, and their various terms of art and science. In this he has had no equal,—no rival; here his lexicon is rich beyond hope or expectation; while points of great grammatical importance are slurred over in a few lines, half a page, or perhaps a whole one, is given to the discussion of some unknown bird, or some disputed plant. And yet, with all these drawbacks, Schneider's lexicon is an invaluable book; not a book for translation or abridgment, nor even to be used as the ground-work of future editions—which would serve but to perpetuate its faults—but a mine of wealth for succeeding lexicographers who shall know how to draw from, and use judiciously, the treasures so profusely scattered through its pages; who, forming their own plan, and adopting rules which Schneider has neglected, shall improve on his excellencies, avoid his faults, and supply his deficiencies.

scholars very unequal to such a task, named Wetzel and Riemer, to whose carelessness and want of judgment, Passow, in one of his prefaces, attributes much of this faulty exuberance.

And such, we are happy to say, it has proved in the hands of the learned and judicious Passow, the author of the lexicon which we have placed second at the head of our article. Schneider's lexicon had caused a great sensation in Germany; and sundry pamphlets and critiques appeared, at different times, pointing out its faults, and laying down plans and rules for the direction of future lexicographers; and, in 1818, the year before Schneider published his third edition, Passow, who was also of Breslau, a pupil of Jacobs and Hermann, and a friend and colleague of Schneider, commenced a *Manual-Lexicon*, formed on an entirely new plan, but embodying, on an abridged scale, most of the valuable matter of Schneider's third edition. The first part, containing *A* and *B*, appeared in 1819; the second, from *I* to *K* in 1821; and the two last, which completed the work, in 1823 and 1824. In this excellent little work, Passow began by correcting the want of arrangement in Schneider. His leading principle was to draw out, wherever it was possible, a kind of biographical history of each word, to give its different meanings in an almost chronological order, to cite always the earliest author in which a word is found,—thus ascertaining, as nearly as may be, its original signification,—and then to trace it downwards according as it might vary in sense and construction, through subsequent writers. For this purpose, he began—where every historical account of the Greek language must begin—with the primeval language of the epic poets, with a careful and critical examination of Homer and Hesiod. His intention then was to proceed to the Ionic prose of Herodotus, thence to what he calls the *Æolic-Dorian* lyric poetry, and afterwards to an examination of the Attic writers. It is one thing, however, to form a plan, and another to execute it. In his first edition, Passow, advanced but one step in this his admirably devised plan: he got no farther than the works of Homer and Hesiod; but these he examined with the greatest minuteness and accuracy. Hence this first edition was very unequal. For the works of those two great poets, it was, indeed, most comprehensive; it left little or nothing to be desired; but for the post-Homeric writers, it was much too concise, and passed them over too hastily, being, in that part of it, little more than an improved and corrected abridgment of Schneider. All the post-Homeric meanings were frequently comprehended in one sweeping, undistinguishing clause, generally without a quotation in support of them, or even the name of any author who used

them, by which their value and authority might be ascertained. Nor was any distinction made between those significations which a word had in the pure and classical times of Greece, and those which it acquired in the decline of the language. Except, however, being much deteriorated by this continually-recurring defect, Passow's first edition deserved the highest praises which could be bestowed on it; in all other respects he had very judiciously avoided the faults, and filled up most of the deficiencies of Schneider, as far as the size of his book would allow. He had left out all those doubtful vocables with which Schneider and his predecessors had loaded their lexicons, admitting none unless supported by good authority; and he had shown great discrimination, and a deep insight into the analogies of the language, by rejecting a vast number of those obsolete forms of verbs which Schneider had admitted so lavishly, and retaining only those of which there were evident remains, and in which he was justified by sound analogy. The primary sense of a word was always carefully marked, and the derivative senses so traced from it and from each other, as to make the connexion obvious. Any variety of construction occurring in different authors, was generally noticed; as also, whether the word was used principally by the epic poets, by the dramatic writers, or by the Attic prose authors. These last were points which had been almost entirely neglected by preceding lexicographers, and but slightly and occasionally touched on even by Schneider; while in Passow they are a very striking and valuable feature of his work. The syntax of the particles, also, was very elaborately worked, —perhaps more minutely than is necessary or even useful; but this is one of those points where it is difficult or almost impossible to draw the line between the grammar and the lexicon. Nor must we forget one very useful addition which Passow has made, —that of marking the quantity of all doubtful syllables. In a word, then, we should say of that first edition of Passow's lexicon, that, for the reader of Homer and Hesiod, it was all but perfect; for the study of other authors, it was only (it pretended to nothing more) a very admirable manual: but we must at the same time say of it, that, by its chronological history of the significations of words, it established a principle which must be the basis of all future lexicography; and that, by its admirable examination of the old epic language, it laid a sure and immovable foundation for future labours.

It was Passow's intention, in preparing a second edition, to

advance one step farther in his original plan, by examining the Ionic prose of Herodotus in the same way as he had done the writings of Homer; but unfortunately for the progress of genuine lexicography, a second edition was called for almost before the first was finished, and Passow, willing to answer a call so advantageous to his pocket, as well as gratifying to his character, gave up his plan for a time, and brought out, in 1825, the second edition, revised and corrected from the first, but without any very material additions. A third edition appeared in 1827—again revised, corrected, and very considerably enlarged, but without any farther progress being made in the original plan; and again, after the lapse of four years more, came out, towards the end of 1831, the fourth and last edition, now increased to two thick octavo volumes, each containing between 1400 and 1500 pages. In this work, which has left at an immense distance every other lexicon, even that of Schneider, Passow has put in execution the second part of his original plan, that of following up the explanation of Homer and Hesiod by an examination of the Ionic prose of Herodotus; and though he has not done it in so detailed a manner as he did the two poets, he has given, in our opinion, quite enough to satisfy any reader of Herodotus; and what he has given is done skilfully and with judgment. For we cannot but think, that, for a general lexicon, rather too much space is allotted to the meanings of Homer and Hesiod, too many quotations and references are given, every the most trifling shade of difference being marked, and oftentimes where the difference was not exactly in the meaning of the word, but rather implied in the thing signified: more minute Passow could not have been, had his lexicon, after the manner of Damm, been confined exclusively to those two poets. But in his account of the language of Herodotus, he has given all the most striking and most important significations,—all the forms and constructions peculiar to Herodotus and the Ionic dialect. More than this we can neither expect nor desire in any general lexicon. In this admirable book, Passow has not proceeded with his original plan farther than Herodotus, though we still find, in the other parts, very considerable improvements and additions, by meanings and extracts from many other authors; but he promises to proceed in his next edition with his original project, which we heartily wish him life, and health, and leisure to complete, although we fear that it is almost more than he can hope or expect. Should not Passow, however, be spared to finish

his Herculean task,* we have no doubt that Germany possesses many scholars worthy of treading in his steps, who, we hope, will judiciously pursue the same career which he is now pursuing with so much credit to himself and so much advantage to the classical world; and we may then expect, that not many years can elapse before Germany will possess a lexicon that may serve as a sure foundation and an almost perfect model for all others.

It is, perhaps, not strictly in accordance with the original pur-

* Since writing the above, we have heard that Passow has been taken off in the midst of his literary career. His death was mentioned in an English newspaper, but we have never seen any authentic account of it. [The preceding remark furnishes an example of the slowness of general literary communication between England and Germany. This article purports to have been written in Feb. 1834. Passow died March 11th, 1833. Obituary notices of him appeared in the literary journals for April, (issued at the close of that month,) and these were received in America in July 1833.—We subjoin a few notes of his life. Passow was born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Sept. 20, 1786. He was educated at the gymnasium of Gotha, chiefly under the immediate instruction of Frederick Jacobs. In 1804 he entered the university of Leipsic, where he devoted himself almost exclusively to the lectures and instructions of Hermann. In 1807 he was made professor of the Greek language in the gymnasium at Weimar; whence he removed in 1811 to take charge of the *Conradinum*, a large institute for education in the vicinity of Dantzig. This institution, however, was destroyed by the wars of the time; and in 1814 he repaired to Berlin, where in the society of the eminent scholars of that place, he passed a year of great enjoyment and privilege. In 1815 he was called to the ordinary professorship of ancient literature in the university of Breslau; where he entered upon that literary course, which has placed his name among the highest in Greek learning, and which was terminated only by his sudden death from epileptic paralysis, March 1833. The following paragraph from an autobiographical article, prepared by him for the Supplement to the *Conversations-Lexicon* now in the course of publication, exhibits the view which he himself cherished of his great work: "His chief literary occupation during the last twelve years, was his Lexicon of the Greek Language. The mark at which he aimed, lies in the observance of a severe historical developement. If he may trust to many an applauding voice and to the approbation manifested by a rapid circulation, he may hope that this work with all its deficiencies will yet be of some permanent utility; and may perhaps, as he confesses to be his wish, bear up his name and memory beyond the limits of his life."—Ed. or B. R.

pose for which we undertook this article, to notice the new edition of Stephens' 'Thesaurus' now in a course of publication at Paris. Our first object in taking up this subject was to aid and direct the progress of Greek and *English* lexicography, and in furtherance of this design we have been necessarily led to describe, at some length, the gigantic strides which the Germans are making in the same department. But Greek and *French* lexicography is still so completely in its infancy, that we shall learn little or nothing by noticing the progress made in that country. And yet, as the republication, and consequently the more general diffusion of such a body of Greek literature as the Thesaurus contains may be expected to have a considerable influence on the lexicographical knowledge of that language, whether a dead or a living tongue be the medium of interpretation; and as every student and every lover of classic lore must be interested in such a work,—we are sure that no apology is necessary for our giving an account of the plan and its execution, as far as we can judge from the few numbers yet published; nay, we rather feel, that were we to pass over in silence such a vast and influential undertaking, we might be fairly expected to give some strong reasons for such an omission.

The present publication, of which only three numbers have as yet appeared, is a reprint of the original 'Thesaurus,' with selections from the numerous additamenta of Valpy's edition, and fresh contributions from many of the leading scholars of Europe. The principal editor is M. Hase, assisted by M. de Sinner and M. Fix. Hase* is known in the literary world as having edited 'Leo Diaconus,' for the new edition of the Byzantine Historians; De Sinner has published an edition of 'Longus,' and of 'Buondelmonti de Insul. Archipel.'; and Fix was, we believe, a pupil of Hermann.

The wisdom or utility of reprinting any work of some centuries old, when the subject of it has been progressively improving, must always be very questionable. In the case of a Greek Lexicon, published more than two hundred and sixty years ago, when the philosophy of language and the great principles of etymology were little understood, and when the internal structure

* M. Hase entitles himself, *Instituti Regii Franciæ Socius*, in *Schola Regia Polytechnica Regiæque Speciali Linguarum Orientalium Professor*, in *Bibliothecæ Regiæ parte Codd. MSS. complectente Conservator adjunctus*, etc. etc.

and analogies of ancient Greek were so much less known than they now are, to republish it, with all its errors and defects would seem to be a downright absurdity. And yet, whenever any new edition of the 'Thesaurus' has been talked of, it has been a very generally expressed wish among scholars, an almost *sine qua non*, that whatever additions might be made, the original should be reprinted entire and unmutated. Now as long as this is made the basis of any new edition, as it was in Valpy's, and as it is in the present, so long will it go on to be "*rudis indigestaque moles*," a mazy labyrinth of valuable matter without system or arrangement, and requiring to be entirely remodelled before it can be anything like what it ought to be. It may be said, perhaps, in defence of this plan, that although in both the modern editions each article is first given with any errors and defects, as Stephens left it, yet it is immediately followed by other paragraphs, correcting the one and supplying the other. But why, it may be asked, reprint in the beginning of an article what is now an acknowledged error, merely to correct it at the end? Why leave deficiencies in one paragraph to fill them up in another? Why give in one page, etymologies or meanings now known to be incorrect, only to demolish them in the succeeding one? Why give derivative and secondary senses before the primitive and original, only to have to reverse them before the ink is dry? And yet all this and more than this is done in both the English and French editions of the 'Thesaurus,' for no other reason, that we can see, but to preserve and perpetuate errors because they are the errors of a Stephanus, who if he had enjoyed the half of our advantages, would never have committed them, and if he should now see them, would most assuredly draw his pen through them. It strikes us, that the only wise and useful way of republishing the 'Thesaurus' would be to give such an edition of it as we may suppose Stephens would now give, if he were alive to superintend it. And the editor who cannot be trusted to do this, is not fit to be the editor of the "Thesaurus" in any shape.

Although the new editors have engaged to preserve entire the matter of Stephens, even restoring some alterations made in the English edition, they have however ventured on making one most material change in Stephens' plan; they have adopted the alphabetical arrangement of words, instead of the etymological system of the original. Of this alteration we decidedly approve, as contributing to the ease and convenience with which the

'Thesaurus' may be consulted; and though there is much to be said in favour of the more philosophical arrangement, and some may still prefer it, yet we have no doubt but that it will be considered a great improvement by a very large majority of the classical world.

When the editors had adopted this alteration, one should have supposed that their first thought would have been how they might supply the void made in the etymological department by this their change of plan, and that they would have laid down for themselves some general rule for attaching the derivation to each word now separated from its family and connexions. But through the first number, and nearly to the end of the second, there is no appearance of their having given this a thought; consequently, some few words have a derivation as originally given by Stephens, a very few others have it added by the new editors, and the greater part have *none at all*. Towards the end of the second number, they seem to have bethought themselves of the necessity of some such plan; and through the third they have generally imitated Passow, by adding the derivation *in curved brackets*, immediately after the word, and before any of its significations. As they have thus early adopted a most excellent model, we should not have mentioned the subject, but that they have adopted it *only in part*; they have not followed Passow's whole plan, than which we know not a better. The part which they have omitted is this,—that when the derivation, from being doubtful or disputed, is too long to be placed at the beginning of the article, Passow places it at the end, so that we know at once where to look for it. For want of this simple device, the scholar, who happens to be looking for a questionable etymon in the new 'Thesaurus,' must wade through the whole of a long article, consisting of perhaps many paragraphs, before he can be sure that he has all the derivations which the article contains,—as, possibly, two or three separate paragraphs may each furnish a different one.

There is another blemish of a different kind, and of less importance, (some, indeed, may not think it a blemish,) arising from the attempt to distinguish all the interpolations and additions from the original matter of Stephens, and each from the other. The principle of this scheme is in itself so fair, and the means of effecting it are apparently so easy, that there would seem to be no reasonable objection to it; and yet, when carried into effect, it renders the present edition a most unsightly

work, and is frequently very puzzling and perplexing to the eye of the reader; a considerable part of almost every article being so filled with round, and square, and single, and double brackets, one within the other, that it requires extraordinary care and considerable practice to wind one's way safely among them.

Another branch of this same principle is productive of much more serious and extensive mischief. The three editors are to have, it seems, each his contribution inserted in a separate paragraph;* consequently, instead of an article consisting of one congruous and well-digested account, compiled from the various contributions of different editors and scholars, we have a number of different unconnected paragraphs, of which a very considerable part is superfluous, little better than tautology. First, we have whatever Stephens has said on the word, whether right or wrong, interlarded with every imaginable variety of brackets. Next comes, perhaps, a paragraph abridged from the English edition, together with contributions of Schaefer, Valckenaer, etc. embracing much curious and valuable information, but a considerable proportion of it fitter for the notes of a new edition of Hesychius than for one of Stephanus. Then follows a quarter or half a page of quotations from Ast's '*Lexicon Platonicum*,' (not selected, but transcribed,) nineteen-twentieths of which give *no new meaning or construction*. Then comes another long catalogue of quotations, by De Sinner or Fix, with some valuable points of information amidst a heap of useless repetitions. And very frequently, to crown the whole, comes Hase with a fresh list of quotations (*ohé! jam satis!*) from some of the ecclesiastical writers, with whom he seems very familiar, introduced for no reason, that we can fancy, but to show that Libanius or Basil used the word in the same common and usual sense that Plato or Xenophon had done before. Now surely, as we said in our XLIVth Number, in examining Valpy's Ste-

* The present editors have, it is true, improved much on their English predecessors: these inserted whole paragraphs and pages of contributions from different scholars; while the Parisians have certainly much compressed and curtailed them; but still they have not done enough. If they had carefully examined every article before it went to press, they might have omitted pages of useless repetition and tautology; we should not then have, in a paragraph of one editor, a heap of quotations to prove or illustrate what had been satisfactorily and sufficiently done in a preceding paragraph by his brother editor.

phanus, when two or three good authorities have been given for a meaning, it is childish trifling, nay worse, it is mere book-making, to lengthen *that* section by further quotations. It cannot, for instance, be of the slightest use to give nearly half a folio page of quotations and references, taken indiscriminately from a 'Lexicon Platonicum,' to show that so plain and common a word as *ἀδίκη* means *injuste facio*, or *lædo, violo, noceo*—senses established by more than sufficient authorities in the paragraph preceding. Nor is this a rare instance; it occurs in almost every other page, in *ἀδικία, ἄδικος, ἀδύνατος, ἀθάνατος*, etc. Nor can it be necessary for M. Hase, in such plain words as *ἀπαρής, ἀγύμναστος, ἀθεότης*, and we might mention fifty more, to cite a heap of quotations from Plutarch, after Aristotle had been given before; and this, not to introduce any new meaning or construction, but actually prefacing his paragraph by '*sensu proprio* Plutarchus—*sensu proprio* Hermes Trismegistus!' What a thing 'of shreds and patches' poor Stephanus will become!

It will be readily supposed, that amidst all this pic-nic of scholars and editors, it is quite out of the question to expect that, when we search for a word; we shall find its original sense the first. Nothing like it. Its original sense will be found quite as likely, or more so, in the middle or at the end of an article. Nor are we to expect, that an authority quoted is one of the earliest or purest in which the word occurs. Far from it. The word may have been perhaps used in the same sense by Homer; but the authority is more likely to be Philo. Many of these latter defects are not, be it remembered, to be attributed so much to the editors themselves, as to the unfortunate plan which they and their advisers have thought fit to adopt in *reprinting* Stephanus. Those, for instance, which we have last mentioned, are defects in the original; and a *reprint* of the original, with additions affixed to different articles, must necessarily contain all its defects, and in cases, particularly, of mal-arrangement, an accumulation of others. At the same time it would be unfair not to add, that we have found many useful and able paragraphs, showing extensive reading, and containing scholar-like remarks, particularly some by Fix, who appears to be not so long-winded as his colleagues. But now a word or two as to the length and cost of this new edition.

It may be recollected, that in our XLIVth Number we found it necessary to animadvert in pretty strong terms on the very

lengthy manner in which the English editors began their edition of this same 'Thesaurus,' and our animadversions had so far the desired effect, that the numbers published after the appearance of our article were surprisingly and advantageously curtailed. The present editors are not indeed to be compared to their English friends, in this respect, but still their labours will admit of great cutting down, and their work would be in every respect improved by the operation. But, indeed, some very considerable curtailment must be effected in the future numbers, if the work is to be brought within any thing like the limits which the editors have laid down. Let us calculate, as nearly as we can, what length the book threatens to reach. The change from the etymological to the alphabetical arrangement precludes our forming any comparison between this and the original; but we may draw a fair guess from examining it along with the last edition of Passow. Each of the three first numbers of the 'Thesaurus' contains 160 folio pages, and the editors promise to finish it in 28 numbers, consequently the whole work should be only 4480 pages. The three numbers, containing 480 pages, reach to αἰθων. Now Passow, at αἰθων, has advanced only 48 pages:—consequently, the new Stephens is just ten times as long as Passow; and, carrying on the proportion, as Passow's Lexicon is 1500 pages, the Stephens will be 15,000. Dividing this by 160, the amount of pages in each number, we have rather more than 93 numbers, instead of the promised 28. We were so surprised at the results of this calculation, that we tried it by the last edition of Schneider and by Hederic, in both of which the result was still higher. The cost of so voluminous a work will, of course, exceed in the same proportion the price at which the editors put it in their Prospectus; it will be but a trifle under that of the English edition which their own prospectus so clamorously denounces.

Nor are the editors much nearer their promises as to the time within which their *opus magnum* is to be completed. Their first number, according to the Prospectus published in 1830, was to appear in April 1831, and from that time the work was to proceed at the rate of six or eight numbers in the year. We are writing in February 1834, and as yet we have heard of only four numbers (the fourth we have not seen); at this rate the publication will be finished about A. D. 1900. However, as only four numbers have yet been published, these editors have

time enough before them to profit by experience and advice ; and most earnestly do we entreat them, as they value the character of their work, to cut down, with unsparing hand, all useless excrescences. We know how difficult it is to do this—how invidious a task it is to curtail or omit the contributions of kind literary friends ; but, however unpleasant, it must be done. We observe the editors mention, among a host of contributors, (and, to our great astonishment, mention it as a matter of joy and congratulation,) that professor Struve, of Königsberg, has sent them eleven hundred articles on different words beginning with *alpha* ! We should have rather expected them to exclaim, as Pyrrhus did, after a dear-bought victory,—‘A few more such, and we are ruined.’

We have hitherto noticed only the defects arising principally from the absurd plan of giving a *reprint* of the original, and the tautology caused by the still more absurd plan of the different editors contributing separate paragraphs to form one article. We will now add a few specimens of the imperfect manner in which the editors have used the means which are, or ought to have been, within their reach. We have hitherto spoken of redundancies, we shall have now to speak of deficiencies.

The first word in the lexicon, *ἀάατος*, is a striking proof of both ;—of much admitted, which is unprofitable, and everything omitted which could elucidate its meaning. It is rendered *noxius* and *innoxius* ; and then comes all the nonsense from Eustathius and the scholia of two alphas privative destroying each other—of the possibility of its meaning in the same passage, *carens noxâ*, or, ironically, *valde noxius*, etc. etc. Now there are two scholars, by whom the word had been handled in a masterly and satisfactory manner, viz. Passow, in his *Lexicon*, and Buttmann, in his *Lexilogus* : yet the former is not once thought of ; the latter, who has discussed the word in all its bearings, so as to leave nothing to be desired, is just referred to in a most meagre and slovenly manner : ‘*Diverso tamen modo Buttmann,*’ etc. etc. Now can anything be more careless than, in so copious a work as this new ‘*Thesaurus*,’ which professes and ought to give the best and most ample information, to put the student off with a mere reference to a work *written in German* ? We have not time or space to give Buttmann’s masterly dissertation on this word, but must follow the example of the French editors ; we do so, however, with the less reluctance,

because we have heard that a translation of his *Lexilogus* into English is in a state of considerable forwardness.*

Again, in *ἀάβαντοι*, Buttman has given, in a very few words, a far more satisfactory account of its formation and meaning, than Stephanus and all his editors together; and yet we have drily 'Cfr. Buttmanni Lexil. i. 233;' the obvious interpretation of the brief hint being that Buttman's opinion would be found confirmatory of what had gone before; whereas, in this and many other instances, it is *decidedly the contrary*.

The same may be said of *ἀβληχρός*, *ἀγοστέω*, *ἄγρα*, *αἰδελος*, *ἄητος* and *αἴητος*, of *ἀδέω*, etc. under the last of which words we find the following curious recommendation, 'Buttm. Lexil. *cujus totum legas*,' etc. etc. One should almost be inclined to suppose that the editors were ignorant of Buttman's work being written in German. If not, they must suppose the generality of their readers to understand that language: and this idea would seem to be confirmed by their having copied '*Ἀγροκίπινον*' from Schneider's *Lexicon*, and given the whole explanation in German,—either not taking the trouble, or not thinking it necessary to translate it. Indeed, unless it were translated better than that of '*Ἀγωνιστικός*' is, it were better left undone. They say—

Ἀγωνιστικός ap. Galen. et recentiores medicos, Strenuus, Fortis, Audax, Momentum habens: Schneid. *Lex*.

Schneider's interpretation is, in fact, *bold and decisive*; a meaning which it would be difficult to collect from the vague epithets of the Parisian editors.†

* Buttman's *Lexilogus* is a most able disquisition on the derivation, formation, and meaning of a number of doubtful words and passages in Homer, and contains, in two small unpretending volumes, a deeper and more critical knowledge of Greek, more extensive research, and more sound judgment, than we ever remember to have seen in any one work before. Though it is primarily a criticism on Homer, yet it is not confined to his poems; for every author, and every passage, and every analogy which the whole range of Greek literature can furnish as illustration or example, is brought to bear on the old epic language with a talent and by a memory surpassed (if surpassed) only in Porson himself.

† [Nearly two pages of similar examples of deficiency are here omitted.—ED. OF BIBL. REPOS.]

But it is unnecessary to pursue this examination further: from the extracts which we have given, our readers will be able to judge for themselves. These gentlemen may yet, if they will listen to advice, and profit by experience, go a great way towards retrieving the character of their work. The unfortunate plan which they have adopted will always be a great obstacle to their best exertions; but still, by care and accuracy, they may make up for much imperfection, and leave a monument of their talents and industry, creditable to themselves, and generally useful to Greek literature.*

* Since writing the above, we have seen the fourth number of the *Paris Thesaurus*, which, to our surprise, is not an immediate continuation of the former three numbers, but the commencement of the letter *B*, and not compiled by the same editors. M. Hase, indeed, it seems, still superintends the whole; but while his former associates are continuing their labours in *A*, two new coadjutors, Messrs William and Louis Dindorf, have produced the first number of *B*. We have looked through this number as carefully as the time would permit, and have to congratulate M. Hase on a very considerable improvement. Had the three earlier numbers been managed with equal care and judgment, much of the censure which we have thought it our painful duty to inflict would have been spared. The Messrs Dindorf have skillfully dovetailed some very excellent emendations and additions into the original matter. A little more concentration and abridgement might have been better; but the improvement is such that we must be satisfied with the present, and look forward to the future with the hope of its further increase. M. Hase, too, comes but seldom on the stage with his ecclesiastical quotations, and Ast's Plato has entirely disappeared; we hope, is not entirely neglected. We would hope, too, that the Messrs Dindorf will not overlook Passow's lexicon as their predecessors have done. Etymology they seem to have almost forgotten. The purchasers of the *Thesaurus*, will, therefore, learn with pleasure, that by contraction and concentration of matter this number contains nearly twice as much—or, we should rather say, advances nearly twice as far in the same number of pages, as either of the former three. Still, however, computing the length of the work by the diminished scale of this number, it will be, at least, twice as long as the *Prospectus* gave reason to expect; nor do we see how it can be brought at all within anything like the promised size, without injury to the work, unless, the plan be altered so as to omit all those hundreds of names of persons and places, most of them quite uninteresting, which now occupy so large a space. And then, after all, what between the different relays of editors, and their different modifications of the original plan, what an incongruous whole must poor Stephanus become!

We come now to the Greek and English Lexicon, which stands last at the head of our article, and which we have placed there for two reasons, principally for its connexion with the Greek and German lexicography, but also because it is the best specimen that we have seen of a Greek and English lexicon—which, unfortunately, is saying little for it. Of this work two editions have been published—the first in 1826, the second in 1831—of both it will be necessary to speak somewhat in detail. We will begin with the former. When we first heard of a *lexicon taken from Schneider*, we were on the tip-toe of expectation, knowing the intrinsic excellence of our German friend, whom we had been in the habit of consulting for some years. As soon as we had possession of our new prize, we naturally turned to the title-page, and there, to our great astonishment, we read, ‘A new Greek and English Lexicon, principally on the plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider.’—On the plan of Schneider!!! The *only* point of similarity between Donnegan's and Schneider's lexicons, as far as we have been able to discover, is in neither of them having any particular plan or arrangement at all. If there be any difference, it is in favour of Schneider, who *does* sometimes divide and number the different meanings of a word, and occasionally traces the derivative sense from the primitive. Donnegan never numbers the different significations of a word: he has indeed two marks which seem to denote some difference of signification, viz. a semicolon and a dash (thus—); but these marks are used so indiscriminately, with such want of decision and knowledge, or of care, that we can never be sure what they are intended to denote. They are sometimes placed between different meanings, sometimes between modifications of the same meaning, and sometimes between *meanings in which there is no difference at all*. We need not give instances of this—for they are to be found in almost every page. But Dr Donnegan did see in Schneider's *want of plan* one very considerable inconvenience, which he has avoided—only to fall into another as great if not greater. He says in his preface:

‘Schneider, by intermingling examples, critical remarks, and etymological observations, with the significations of his words, has frequently separated the various meanings to such a distance from each other that they are with difficulty traceable.’

To obviate this inconvenience, Dr Donnegan gives the different meanings in uninterrupted succession, and afterwards adds,

at the end of each article, (where he thinks it necessary,) some examples, with a translation of each, to explain or illustrate any striking or peculiar meanings. Now we find this plan quite as inconvenient as Schneider's confusion, and more unsatisfactory, to say nothing of its adding unnecessarily to the size of the lexicon; because, in this case, either the same meaning must be repeated, first as an interpretation of the word, and then annexed to the quotation*—or the quotation itself must be always translated, a thing generally unnecessary when it follows close on the signification of which it is the authority. For the student who consults Donnegan, if not fully satisfied with his interpretation of a word, as given generally without any authority affixed to it, must proceed to wade through a string of sentences in search of authority or explanation, where he finds no distinguishing mark to point out with which meaning each quotation is connected, and of which it is an illustration or peculiarity. If Donnegan had chosen to adopt this plan, he should have imitated the example of Ainsworth, in his Latin and English Dictionary, which we are sometimes inclined to think as good as any. Had he done so, marking each distinct set of meanings 1, 2, 3, etc. and then each authority or quotation 1, 2, 3, etc. as they referred respectively to each meaning, the student might have easily cast his eyes from the one to the other, as we have all done in Ainsworth, with ease and convenience.

Or should it be said that Schneider's *plan*, as adopted by Donnegan, consists (we still quote from the title page) in 'distinguishing such words as are poetical, of dialectic variety, or peculiar to certain writers or classes of writers,'—we answer, that though there may be here and there instances of such distinction marked both in Schneider and Donnegan, yet these instances are so few and far between, so rare in comparison of what they might and ought to be, that they would seem to have come there more by some lucky chance than from any regular plan or system. In Schneider, indeed, we are frequently able to ascertain, to a certain extent, what expressions are poetical or prosaic by the authorities given: but this is an advantage of course less frequent in Donnegan, where the authorities are scattered with a much more sparing hand. So much for Donnegan's *plan*.

* Should any one wish to see this plan of Donnegan most absurdly exemplified, let him consult his lexicon, second edition, at *Ἀπὸλλώνιον*.

And next, a little as to the matter. To Schneider, he fairly confesses, in his first preface, that his lexicon is indebted for its most valuable matter ; but he, at the same time, assures us,

‘that in collecting materials for this first edition, neither time nor labour has been spared ; the classical Greek writers have been carefully studied, the works of eminent lexicographers consulted, and information sought in the writings of the most celebrated critics and philosophers of our own and of neighbouring countries.’

This sounds well : but where are the fruits of the preface writer's labour and research ? We have not met with them in any one page of his book. We have carefully examined a very large portion of his lexicon, comparing it article by article, and page by page, with Schneider—and we will venture to assert that, while almost every error, mistake, or defect of Schneider is too faithfully copied, everything *worth having*, which Donnegan's boasted researches have added to the valuable matter of Schneider, might be put in a nut-shell,—aye, and leave room enough for the kernel. Dr Donnegan entitles his book, ‘A new Greek and English Lexicon, *principally on the plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider*,’ etc. but a more correct title would have been, ‘An abridged translation of Schneider, with a few alterations and additions adding little or nothing to the value of the original.’ As a *translation*, we should say that, in very ordinary cases, it is pretty faithfully done, but that in points of the least doubt or difficulty (and of course these are of constant occurrence) it is extremely faulty and defective. We should say that Dr Donnegan has a sufficient command of English for ordinary matters, and a general knowledge of German, quite enough for the adequate rendering of any common work ; and that as for his Greek—wherever an accurate or critical knowledge of the language is necessary ; wherever there is required a nice discrimination of the force of particles or prepositions—an acquaintance with the analogies, or a philosophical view of the internal structure of the language ;—there either Dr Donnegan's Greek breaks down under him, and leads him into sad mistakes, or (which is most generally the case) he leaves the difficulty as he found it. We must do him the justice to say that he does not seem conceited of his own powers, for he almost always follows Schneider most implicitly ; but where he does venture to throw his original aside and trust to himself, we have invariably reason to regret that he has done so. In one respect, however, it were to be wished that the writer of

the magniloquent preface above quoted had not always trusted to Schneider; it were to be wished that, in composing his lexicon, he *had* made a point of consulting and examining the original Greek authors, and comparing *them* with the German interpretations, rather than contenting himself with rendering *at once from the German lexicographer*; if he had done so, he might have avoided numberless inaccuracies and mistranslations,* of which he has been guilty—he could not have perpetuated, as he has done, all the mistakes of Schneider—and above all, he would not have loaded so many of his articles with an accumulation of unnecessary meanings.

But let us now come to the second edition. It is evident, from every page and line of Dr Donnegan's first edition, that he had never seen Passow's lexicon, although the first part of it appeared as early as 1819, and the English lexicon not until 1826. But in this second edition, Dr Donnegan has had the advantage of Passow's labours. One thing, however, rather puzzles us: we hardly know whether Donnegan understood Passow's system of arrangement or not. That he did not see its value, or appreciate it as he might, we are quite sure, both from the way in which he speaks of it in his second preface, (if indeed he does speak of it there, of which we are far from clear,) and because *he has only followed it in the former half of his re-edited lexicon*. The latter half, from *A* inclusive, is, as to anything like arrangement, precisely as Schneider left it. But more of this hereafter. Let us first see what account Donnegan himself gives in his preface, of the improvement of this second edition. 'Attention,' he says, 'has been most particularly directed to correct any deviation from the natural or philosophical arrangement of the meanings of words.' Now, who would imagine from this that Donnegan's first edition was composed without the slightest regard to, or knowledge of, any natural or philosophical arrangement whatever; and that this second edition, (or rather the first half of it,) is drawn up with slavish fidelity on that most admirable and systematic arrangement of Passow, which we have a few pages back described? We are justified, therefore, in saying, when he penned this preface he either did not understand the plan he was adopting, or contrived so to write as to take to him-

* And yet what hope is there of one who, from poverty of mind, or want of language, can translate the *ἄγαμος γάμος* of the *Œdip. Tyrannus*, by 'unhappily married,' and the *δοικὸς τριτοκλαίης* of the *Philoctetes*, by 'an unfortunate dwelling?'

self the merit due to Passow. But in truth we cannot pass over, without censuring, in the strongest language we are capable of, Dr Donnegan's most unfair and unhandsome conduct in not having *distinctly acknowledged* the advantages which he has derived from Passow's lexicon. He has adopted Passow's arrangement—copied—translated from him as he had done before from Schneider—and yet never had the honesty to give the slightest acknowledgment. It is true that the name of Passow occurs in a few scattered instances, (under *ἀγρυπα*, for example,) but then in so short and unintelligible a manner as to be hardly observable; and so very rarely does even this occur, that any one who recognizes the name of Passow could only suppose that Donnegan had borrowed from him a few scattered hints, instead of having made his lexicon the foundation of his second edition. Is this fair or honourable? Is it like a gentleman or a scholar? Again, he says,—

'Above 200 pages of entirely new matter have been added to the present edition. Half the work has been re-written, and **THE ENTIRE newly modelled**, in conformity with the *general plan*, but with much improvement and simplification in the details.'

We are very sorry to say, the truth, and the whole truth is, that Donnegan has *re-written and re-modelled only the first half of this second edition*, altering, and amending, and enlarging it *after Passow*, of whom it is now almost as exact an abridged translation as the first edition was of Schneider—excepting in some articles, where the one is added to the other, and where, accordingly, between both, much superfluous interpretation and almost inextricable confusion are necessarily produced.* Now,

* As an instance of the bungling manner in which Dr Donnegan compounds a mixture of Schneider and Passow, we copy, word for word, from his second edition, the following:—

'*ἀάρατος*, οὐ, adj. that cannot be injured or violated, inviolable, *H.* 14, 271. as an epithet of the waters of Styx, the sanction of an inviolable oath—inulnerable, invincible, *Apoll.* 2. 77. not injurious, irreproachable, hence honourable, worthy, viz. a contest, *Ody.* 21, 91. and 22, 5. *Schn. L. Supplem.* or in the first sense irrevocable or decisive as to the result, *Schn. L. ed. Pass.* injurious, or highly injurious, *Apollon.* 1, 459. ¶ In *Ody.* 21, 91. s. s. as *νολυβλαβής*, from the force of the double α or α *augm.* or for *ἀγαν*, *Eustath.* yet in *Ody.* 21, 91. perhaps invincible, or difficult to be achieved, for *Antinous* adds οὐ γὰρ, &c. for I do not think that this well-polished bow can be easily strung. *Ody.* 22, 5. innocuous, relatively to that which was to follow, viz. the attack on the

of the '200 pages of entirely new matter,' or to speak accurately, of the 219 pages by which this second edition exceeds the first, 211 are contained in the former half to *K* inclusive, and the latter half is increased by only the remaining eight : and so far from this latter having been 'newly modelled, in conformity with the general plan,'—(Qu. what is this plan?)—there are not a dozen alterations, or amendments, or corrections, through the whole of it, excepting in the beginning of each letter, and in the particles and prepositions, which are greatly enlarged, but always 'duce et auspice' Passow. Why Dr Donnegan stopped short after he had re-modelled the half of his work,—why he published it thus imperfect, may perhaps puzzle the uninitiated ; but we have no doubt that the simple fact is,—a second edition was wanted when only the half had been re-written ; and we venture to guess that a third edition is *now* in hand, in which the latter half will one day appear corresponding with the former. In this there would have been nothing to blame, had the preface told us exactly how the matter stood ; but it remains for Dr Donnegan to explain how he dared to talk of his lexicon as being 'entirely re-modelled,' when, in fact, only one half of the work had been so dealt with !

suitors. ¶ *Damm* gives as primary sense, undeceiving, and so understands it Ody. 21, 91, and ironically, 22, 5. deriving it from *α* priv. *ἄτω*. Th. *α* priv. *ἄτω* from *ἄω*, or *α* priv. *ἄω*, Buttmann Lexil. s. 231.

Again—

ἄατος, *ov*, adj. s. s. as *ἄατος*, highly injurious, Apollon. 1, 459. see *ἄατος*. Th. (in the latter sense) *α* augm. *ἄω* to injure. ¶ *ἄατος* or *ἄτος*, insatiable, Hes. Theog. 714. and Sc. Herc. 55, and 101. with a genit. Th. (*ἄω*) *ἄω*, to satiate. ¶ s. s. as *ἄητος* from *ἄημι*, *ἄω*, to blow.

It would be waste of time and paper to criticise such a mishmash of sense and nonsense as this. We will rather give what a very little common sense and a very moderate knowledge of Greek might (with the help of Passow and Buttmann) have easily produced :—

ἄατος, *ὁ, ἡ*, (Th. *ἄω*, to hurt,) that cannot be hurt with impunity, inviolable, Il. ε, 271. That cannot be overcome or accomplished without difficulty, Ody. φ, 91. ζ, 5. But Buttmann, in his Lexil. 1. p. 232, understands the word, in all three passages, more in a moral sense, as what ought not to be hurt or violated—ought not to be treated with slight or contempt. In Apoll. Rh. 2, 77, it is used in the former sense of invulnerable, invincible.

ἄατος, *ὁ, ἡ*, contr. *ἄτος*, (Th. *ἄω*, *ἄσαι*, to satiate,) insatiable, *πῶλο-μω*, Hes. Theog. 714. Scut. 59. *ἄατος* is for *ἄητος*, Quint. Sm. 1, 217.

It would be unnecessary to go into detail through all the improvements and corrections which Donnegan has made in this his second edition. Suffice it to say, that for all of them (and they are really numerous and considerable) he is indebted to Passow; so that, instead of calling the book a *second edition of Donnegan's lexicon*, we should term the former half of it an abridged translation of Passow, and the latter an abridged translation of Schneider.

But now comes the main question. Has Donnegan made the most of the advantages furnished him either by Schneider or by Passow? we must answer decidedly in the negative. His lexicon is full of inaccuracies and faults, and some of them are so radical, that nothing less than an entire and careful examination of the whole, with a constant reference to the original authors, and a re-modelling and re-writing of every article of any length, by a more skilful hand than Donnegan's, can ever thoroughly correct it. The main and constantly recurring faults are—

1st. Mis-translations of Schneider's and Passow's German, and a frequent want of precision in giving the exact meaning of a word or of a quotation.

2nd. An unnecessary number of meanings, either by the use of many synonymous words, by refining too much on the real meaning, and thus frittering it away, by giving too vague* and general an interpretation, or by expressing qualities which may be in the thing signified, but are not in the *sense* of the word.†

These striking defects might have been avoided—and could only have been so—by carefully examining the original authors—

* For instance βαρβαρής ought to have some more definite meaning than 'grievous, distressing, Soph. CE. C. 1561.' The same may be said of βαρύθυμος. Again, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1098, calls arrows, πτερωτά ἔγχεα, winged spears. But this does not justify the German lexicographer, nor his copyist Donnegan, in giving as a meaning of ἔγχεα, a weapon in general.

† We point to such words as ἄστρομος, rendered by Donnegan, 'unpalatable—bitter, acid, tasteless.' These three last interpretations are not the meaning of the word. A thing which is ἄστρομος, unpalatable, may be acid or lusciously sweet, or bitter, or sour, or tasteless,—but these qualities, though either of them may exist in the thing signified, are not, therefore, in the word. [This is one of the chief sources of the great multiplication of meanings, which Schleusner and other lexicographers have assigned to words in the New Testament; that is, they have transferred to the word an idea which lies only in its *adjuncts*. See Schleusner *passim*. Ed. of B. R.]

which the preface says the Doctor had done ! In proof of our assertions, we need only turn over a few pages, and we find,—

“*Ἀβοῦαι*—without noise or struggle, Pind. Nem. 8, 15.” It should be, without a summons or invitation.

“*Ἀβουκόληκος*,—inconsiderate, not circumspect, *Æschyl.* Supp. 942.” It should be, disregarded.

Ἀγάζομαι and *ἀγαμαι* are not, strictly speaking, ‘to wonder at,’ but to admire ; and so Schneider and Passow render them, but Donnegan has mistaken *bewundern* for *verwundern*.

“*Ἀγαλματοφορέω*,—to carry a statue, or as a statue is carried.” It should be, *literally*, to carry a statue, but *generally used metaphorically*, *τινα ἀγ. to carry the image of a person in the mind* : Philo *passim*.

Ἀγευστος does not signify in Xen. Mem. ‘inexperienced, unenjoyed, or untried.’ It is precisely the same expression and the same meaning as Donnegan had before given, and for which he had quoted as his authority Soph. Ant. 583. The one is *ἄγευστος κακῶν*, the other *ἄγ. τερπνῶν*, not having tasted or experienced. Donnegan did not see the distinction between the active and the passive meaning of this word.

Ἀγλαΐα is not at Ody. 17, 244, nor elsewhere, that we have ever heard of, ‘arrogance or insolence.’ In that passage it is, festive revelling.

Ἀγλαΐζω is not in ‘Theocr. Epig. 1, 4, to decorate with a laurel crown.’ The sentence is, The Delphic Rock *τοῦτο τοὶ ἀγλαΐσας*, made this splendid for thee, produced it to decorate thee,—the literal meaning of the word being *to make splendid*.

Ἀγνοίω.—Donnegan has translated Il. β. 807, “*Ἐκτωρ δ’ οὐκ ἔειπεν ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν*,” ‘he attended not to the word of the goddess.’ And from this passage, and Schneider’s translation of it in the supplement to his lexicon, he has given as one of the meanings of *ἠγνοίω*, ‘not to follow.’ Had he examined Homer, and not blindly translated from Schneider, who is frequently much too free in his interpretations, he would have seen that there is no occasion for travelling out of the plain road to find the sense of this passage : it is the common meaning of the word, *not to know, not to understand*. Hector was not ignorant of what the goddess meant, but fully understood it. This interpretation explains the passage intelligibly, and is in perfect accordance with the other lines in which Homer uses it.

As to the second defect which we mentioned, that of giving an unnecessary number of meanings, we may see it exem-

plified in *ἄγνως*,* under which we find no less than thirteen (not different meanings, but) different words of interpretation for Homer and Pindar; as thus—'most manly, brave, valiant, courageous, noble—Pindar; haughty, arrogant, insolent, daring, rash, headstrong; strong—Ody.; great—Pindar'!!! We pity the unfortunate school-boy who is expected to form some precise idea of the sense of *ἄγνως* from this heterogeneous mixture of similar and dissimilar meanings. What must he think of the vagueness and inaccuracy of ancient Greek? It is enough to disgust him with it forever. Of these thirteen interpretations, there is not one which fully and truly expresses the meaning of the word. *High-spirited* will perhaps come nearest to it, and will suit every passage in the *Iliad*, and many in the *Odyssey*; and where, in the latter, it is used in a sense rather vituperative, as applied to the suitors, we may render it by *licentious*. In Pindar, it is used as the epithet of a high-spirited horse, and thence metaphorically applied to *things*, as being 'exceedingly (*ἄγαν*) splendid or magnificent,' e. g. *πλοῦτος, μισθός, κόμπος*.

Again *ἄγνός* is rendered by Donnegan,

'meriting worship or veneration: hence, glorious, honourable, as a contest is, Pind.; sacred to the gods, holy as a festival, Ody. 21. 259; not to be approached by the profane, Soph. Œ. C. 38; undefiled, pure, in a physical or moral sense, chaste, virginal, an epithet of Diana and Proserpine, Ody. 11, 385; morally good or irreproachable.'

Now multiply and subdivide as we will, *ἄγνός* can have but two meanings,—the first, sacred or holy; the second, free from all moral or physical impurity, i. e. pure and chaste. All be-

* The origin of this would seem to be, that Donnegan, having too often no precise and definite idea of the meaning of a Greek word, is fearful that, in translating from the German lexicographer, he may omit any of its meanings, and therefore gives every sense and signification which the German words can by possibility bear; in doing which he wanders widely from the meaning of the original Greek. There is a ludicrous instance of his ignorance in '*Ἀποκαθεύδω*, to sleep separately; to sleep out of one's house—to be fond of sleep—to sleep upon—sleep with another.' Only the two first are legitimate significations; whence the third came we cannot conjecture; the fourth is a false translation of Schneider's *über etwas einschlafen*, i. e. to fall asleep in the midst of doing a thing: the fifth is a false deduction from Schneider's quotation, *ἀναθεύδει παρ' αὐτῆς*, he slept away from his own house, i. e. at the sick person's.—Philostr. Apoll. 8, 7, 14.

yond this is unnecessary, and can only serve to puzzle rather than explain.

If it were necessary, we might go on with *ἀβρός, ἀγνώμων, ἀστεμφής, ἀστείος, ἀστειός, ἀφοβός*, etc.* But we have done, and will close our remarks by confessing that the predominant feeling of our mind, throughout this examination of Donnegan, has been disappointment,—disappointment that with such materials before him, with such aids as Schneider and Passow might and ought to have been to him, he has not done more ; or, rather, has done what he has done so imperfectly ; that, setting out on the great principle of the absurdity of tracing the sense of one language through the medium of another into a third, he has been himself guilty of that very absurdity—guilty of translating from the German instead of the Greek, and thus making that the principal which ought to have been only an auxiliary, and hardly deigning to call in, even as auxiliaries, those who ought to have been principals. The consequences are, what must be always the consequences of such an unnatural order of proceeding, inaccuracy, defectiveness, and superfluity. And the sum of all, that which has given the keenest edge to our disappointment, is, that the misfortune must be, we fear, in this case, nearly irremediable—that future editions must increase rather than diminish the evil, for they cannot amend the inherent defects, nor remove faults ingrafted in the very ground-work of this Greek and English lexicon. Instead of serving, as we had hoped when we first saw it announced for publication, as a foundation on which to raise a goodly structure of Greek and English lexicography, it is so innately unsound, that whatever is raised on it must partake largely of its faults. Nothing but its being completely remodelled, and managed on a different plan and in a different manner, will ever make it extensively or permanently useful.

Having thus given an account of the different lexicons placed at the head of our article, and pointed out the merits and defects of each, we must sum up the whole, and endeavour to attain the great object which we have all along kept in view, by giving an outline of such a Greek and English lexicon as we

* It would be wearying ourselves and our readers unnecessarily to make any extracts from, or throw away any criticism on, the latter half of Donnegan's Lexicon ; it has all the imperfections of Schneider's want of arrangement, in addition to those which we have mentioned of the former half.

would wish to see undertaken, being fully convinced that unless one be formed on this or some very similar plan, it cannot but fail.

We should begin then by saying, that we prefer the alphabetical arrangement of words to the etymological one, where the derivatives are arranged under their primitives. The latter may be the more philosophical, but every one knows that it is most inconvenient, while the former is the only one calculated for general use, and may be so managed—(the roots and the primitives being, for instance, placed in larger characters than the derivatives)—as to present almost all the advantages without any of the inconveniences of the former.

It should be an invariable rule in this commencement of a new line of lexicography, never to admit a meaning for which there is not some good and undoubted authority, and to affix to each meaning the authority on which it rests, or the passage from which it is drawn: of course, the earliest or best author should be preferred. By setting out on this plan, and regularly adhering to it, we shall be laying the only sure foundation for avoiding errors and mistranslations at first; for discovering and correcting them when made: and preventing that endless multiplication of meanings, many of them tautologous or false, which now deluge our dictionaries, and only go on increasing with every fresh edition. It would then be seen, at the first glance, what authority there is for any sense; and should the inquirer question the fidelity or skill of the lexicographer, he could satisfy his doubts by referring to the author himself. If it be said, that a lexicon formed on such a plan as this would be too cumbersome and too expensive for general use, we answer, that the plan proposed is the only one calculated for preventing a lexicon becoming too extensive, by excluding everything not absolutely necessary; and that from a work of this kind would be formed, very soon and very easily, abridged editions to suit younger students and all who are willing to rely on the judgment of others, while the greater work would remain for more advanced scholars who think and examine for themselves. Besides, this part of the plan might be so modified, with very little or no injury to the work, or inconvenience to those who use it, that all apprehension of its too great bulk would vanish at once. For instance, in all common and useful meanings, where there can be no doubt, and where the author from whom the authority is taken is in every one's hands, as Homer, Xenophon, etc.

a reference to the passage would be sufficient; in all unusual meanings, and where the author is not of every day use, it would be better to give the example at length.

Every word should have its root attached to it, and, if possible, in such a way that both should be seen at the same glance; and if the quantity be marked, it will be a great additional convenience and advantage. The best general plan which we have seen for combining both these very desirable points is that of Passow. In his work, the root is added in curved brackets immediately after the word; and the quantity of the doubtful vowel or vowels is marked, wherever it is possible, over the word itself—as in Maltby's Thesaurus; but where this is prevented by the accent, it is added at the end of the article in square brackets, as thus:—

Ἀδῆϊος, ὁ, ῆ, (α priv. and δᾶϊος) not hostile, etc. [~~~~]

Where the derivation, being doubtful or disputed, is too long to be placed conveniently near the beginning of an article, Passow has, we think judiciously, reversed the respective situations of the root and quantity, thus:—

Διάκονος, ὁ, ῆ, [~~~~] a servant, etc.

(The common derivation is *διά* and *κόνις*, one who goes in haste through the dust; compare *ἐκκονέω*: or one who sleeps in the dust and ashes of the hearth, as the lowest hinds did (Odys. xi, 190): or, with a more general idea, one whose occupations necessarily lead him through dust and dirt. But Buttmann, in his Lexilogus, makes it very probable, on prosodical grounds, that an old verb, *διάκω*, *διήκω*, whence also *διώκω*, lies at the root of this word, which verb had the meaning of, to run, hasten; and that *διάκτορος* is a derivation from the same root, and not a compound).

We think if this outline were filled up according to the rules which we will now enumerate, a lexicon might in time be produced equal to our most sanguine expectations.

The rules, then, which we propose, are these:—

Ist. To give, wherever, and as far as a word will admit of it, its different meanings in chronological order, tracing them from Homer, Hesiod, or the earliest author in which such word or meaning occurs.*

* Observe, we say, 'whenever a word will admit of this.' We are aware that if we were to attempt to explain the senses of every word in any language by following universally and systematically the chronological order of its appearances in books, we should be frequently

2d. Where there is no decisive change of meaning traceable in the different eras of the language, to give first the primitive or literal sense, whether in an earlier or later author, and then the derivative senses, tracing them from one to the other so as to mark as clearly as possible their connexion with the primitive and with each other.

3d. To notice whether a word has varied in its construction in different authors, or in different periods of the language.

4th. To mark where a word is a dialectic variety, and whether it is used principally by the epic poets, by the dramatic writers, or by the Attic prose authors.

5th. Those primitive forms of verbs, for which we have no positive authority in the remaining works of the elder Greek authors, but which are found perhaps in the lexicons of the grammarians, or of which there remain only some tenses now generally ranked as irregular under a later form, should be mentioned as such in their proper alphabetical places; and the tenses formed from them, though placed under the form in general use, might be always referred back to their original thema.

We are aware that, to form a lexicon on these rules, would be a work of time and labour, requiring most extensive and accurate learning, sound judgment, and unwearied perseverance; but at the same time we are quite convinced that these rules are

led into the most glaring absurdities. Numerous instances of this may be seen in the English Dictionary which forms part of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, where this system is blindly followed, by a diligent, and, in many other respects, praiseworthy writer, in tracing the English language from the earliest writers down to the usage of the present day. In Greek, these absurdities might not be of such frequent occurrence, on account of the three great epochs which stand out so prominently in the history of that language, nor would they be so striking in a dead as in a living tongue; still it would be ridiculous to say that Homer *always* used *every* word found in his writings in the primitive or literal sense; and of course instances must often occur of words used figuratively, or in a secondary sense, by earlier writers, and by later authors in their simple or primitive one. In the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, we find, for instance, the *first meaning* of the word 'embattled,' taken from a line in Chaucer, who employs it as the epithet of a cock's comb—a meaning which common sense tells us is a metaphorical usage, and ought therefore to be preceded by the simple one, whether that be found in *Havelok the Dane*, or in *The Spectator*. Passow's whole lexicon is a striking and beautiful illustration of this rule, and of the limits within which it should be restricted.

not more than sufficient—that, with the numerous helps which a scholar has in the present day, they are not of greater difficulty than he may be fairly required to encounter—and that a lexicon, not founded on these or similar rules, must be in some point or other radically defective. We will give an instance or two of each of these rules, partly to exemplify our meaning, but still more to show how necessary they are, and how useful they may be made.

As an instance of the effect of the *first* of these rules we might point to *ἄγαλμα*, the Homeric sense of which is *πᾶν ἐφ' ὃ τις ἀγάλλεται*, *any object of exultation, pride, or delight*; its post-Homeric and general Attic sense, *the statue of any god or deified hero*: nor was it ever applied to statues of men, until, by the flattery of the later Greeks, under the Byzantine emperors. In the same way we cannot obtain a clear knowledge of the different meanings of *ἀγαπάω*, and its more poetical form *ἀγαπάζω*, but by tracing it from the Homeric sense, 'to show a person any act of favour, affection, or kindness,' down to its common Attic meaning, 'to be fond of inanimate things,' as *πλοῦτον, χοήματα*, etc. and thence again to Lucian's frequent use of it for sexual love, *ἐράω*—in which sense it is not found except in writers of a very late era. Now, in putting this rule into practice, we shall observe that there are three great epochs in the language, through all or some of which the different meanings of a word can be frequently traced with more or less distinctness; viz. its infancy, its prime, and its decline:—its infancy in the heroic age of Homer, with whom we may join Hesiod—its prime, in the pure and classical times of Thucydides, Xenophon, and the great dramatists—and its decline, after the Macedonian conquest, and still later under the rising star of Roman greatness, when such writers as Polybius, Plutarch, and Lucian disfigured the elegant language of Plato and Sophocles by spurious expressions, foreign idioms, and new-fangled meanings. The greater number of instances, however, will give only two epochs—as in *κόσμος*, of which the Homeric meanings are, '*order or regularity*,' and '*any ornamental part of dress*;' but its other, and secondary meaning, '*the regular system of the universe, the world*,' did not exist until some centuries after, when Pythagoras first introduced it as a philosophical expression, (vid. Bentley's *Opusc. Philolog.* p. 347, 445), from whom it was adopted by Parmenides, Empedocles, and others, and so passed into common usage. Of course one very essential part of this rule is, that in

every instance, whether there be a *chronological* variety of meaning or not, the earliest author in which a word or meaning occurs should be always noticed—as, for instance, under *ἀγρυπία*, it must be mentioned that the earliest occurrence of the word is in Pindar, while Homer always uses *εὐναι*. We might enumerate a vast number of other words which can never be clearly understood but by taking such a chronological view of their meanings; but what we have given will be amply sufficient, and not perhaps too much, to illustrate every part of this most important rule—by a strict observance of which, wherever practicable, we shall in time possess a complete and philosophical knowledge of the different stages of the language, and shall be enabled to ascertain with much more ease and certainty than by any other means, what families of words and meanings are genuine Hellenic, what have crept into the language in the Macedonian and Alexandrian eras, and what were introduced by the Romans, Byzantines, and others, until the final corruption of the language. We have said the more on the various branches of this rule, because we believe it to be quite new to most of our classical readers, as we know of no instance of its having been brought into practice until in Passow's lexicon, of which it forms the most striking and most valuable feature. On the other rules we shall have to say comparatively little.

Of the *second* rule, it may be hardly necessary to give an example; it will not, however, detain us long, and we will venture on one in

Ἀποστροφή, ἡ, (ἀποστρέφω) the turning anything from or away—as the averting of an evil, of an accusation, of a crime, etc. Eurip. Hippol. 1036. The turning of a horse short aside, Xen. de Equ. 9, 6. Vide Ἀποτροπή.

2. In a passive or middle sense, *the turning of oneself from one thing or place to another*, as through fear, whence, a place of refuge or safety, like *καταφυγή*, Herodot. 8, 109. Xen. Anab. 2, 4, 11. Eurip. Med. 603. *Ἀπ. σωτηρίας*, Thucyd. 8, 75; or through want, as a resource, *ὑδατος*, Herodot. 2, 13; or, through dislike, whence aversion, defection, or revolt, Plut. Alcib. 14; or, simply, the being turned in a different direction, as the bend or turn of a road or river, *τοῦ ῥεύματος*, Plut. Lucull. 27; or, *that which turns from one thing to another*, a diversion, Plut. vol. vi. 504, Reiske. In Rhet. the figure *Apostrophe*.*

* Observe, in exemplification of our caution as to the application of our first rule in a preceding note, that the first usage of this word is here taken from Euripides; the second from a much earlier writer—Herodotus.

On the *third* rule we need say but little, as it is obvious that, whether a word vary in meaning or remain the same, in different periods or different authors, yet in its syntax it may undergo great changes. For instance, *καίραία* has always the same meaning, yet its construction varies greatly. Homer never joins it immediately with a case, but uses it either absolutely, as at II. β, 207, or more frequently with *κατά* and the accusative, as *πόλεμον κατά, Λυκίην κατά*, etc. the preposition being always after the substantive. On the contrary, Hesiod, in his Theog. 331, joins it with the genitive—Pindar Olymp. 14, 12. with the accusative—Apollon. Rhod. with the dative.

The *fourth* rule is one so plain and well-known, that it might seem superfluous to make any remark on it. And yet it must be observed, that to make it really efficient, it must be acted on regularly and systematically. We shall then reap from it advantages, of which, from its meagre use and rare occurrence in our present lexicons, we can now have no conception. Thus, of *ἄγιος* and *ἄγνός*, it may be said that *ἄγιος* is a much later word, and of a narrower meaning than *ἄγνός*; seldom found in the Attic prose writers—never in the tragedians; while *ἄγνός* is the Homeric form, and used by the Attic poets and orators. Again, of *δειλός* and *δελαιος*—the former is the Homeric form, and used also in Attic prose; the latter is never found in the epic poets, but constantly used by the tragedians. Again, of *δένδρον*, that its first appearance in this form is in Pindar—Homer always using *δένδρεον*; that the Ionians, whom the Attic poets sometimes follow, used *δένδρος*, τό, whence we find in Attic prose the dative plural *δένδρεσι*, as well as *δένδροις*: Thucyd. 2, 75. Xen. Econ. 4, 14. Schaef. Greg. p. 61, 62, 265. Again, of the present *εἶμι*, to go, it may be remarked, that in Homer it frequently occurs as a real present, though he does use it also as a future; but that in Ionic prose, and in the Attic writers, it is, *with very few exceptions*, a real future; and that it does not revert back to the regular sense of a present until in such later authors as Pausanias and Plutarch;—which, however, holds good, strictly speaking, only of the indicative, next of the infinitive and participle: the Attics use it more frequently than *ἐλεύσομαι* and *πορεύσομαι*, Valcken. Hippol. 1065. Some isolated instances of *εἶμι*, with the sense of a present, in the best Attic writers, may be found in Herm. de Æsch. Danaid. p. 8. Such observations as these will show how extensively useful this rule may be made.

The *fifth* rule may require a little illustration to make our meaning clearly understood. Let us take for that purpose *ἀνδάνω*. We know that this has been the form in regular use from Homer's time, but we find it joined with a fut. *ἀδήσω*, an aor. 2, *ἄδον*, *ἄδειν*, and a perf. *ἔαδα*, which cannot be formed from *ἀνδάνω*, but must be traced back to another form *ἀδέω*,—as to which, though we have no positive authority for it, we may yet fairly conclude either that it was in actual use at the time these tenses were first formed, or that those who formed them had good reasons for supposing its previous existence. Our rule, therefore, directs that *ἀδέω* should be admitted into the lexicon, and placed in its proper alphabetical situation, and that whether any authority for it be found among the grammarians or not, as thus,

Ἀδέω, to please: not used in pres. but supplies *ἀνδάνω* with fut. *ἀδήσω*; aor. 2. *ἄδον* [~], *ἄδειν*; perf. *ἔαδα*, Dor. *ἔαδα* [~--]

Again, *ἀνδάνω* would run thus:—

Ἀνδάνω, (*ἡδομαι*) imperf. *ἡνδανον*, and *ἔηνδανον*, Hom.—Att. sometimes *ἔανδανον*. From the obsolete form *ἀδέω* come a fut. *ἀδήσω*, Herodot. and Att. aor. *ἔαδον*; besides which Homer has the aor. *ἔαδον*, which like *ἄδον* [~] is only poet.—Perf. *ἔαδα*, Dor. *ἔαδα*. To please, etc.

In the same way we should admit *Γάω* as an obs. theme to form the poet. perf. *γέγαα* for *γέγονα*, perf. to *γίγνομαι*,—*Γάω*, whence *δέδαα*,—*Θάφω*, whence *τέθηπα*, and *ἔταφον*,—and many others, the adoption or rejection of which must be left to the judgment of the lexicographer.

We have observed in Passow's lexicon a very simple and judicious way of marking the difference between the tenses formed regularly from the usual form and those formed from some other obsolete one. For instance, Passow would call *ἡνδανον* the imperfect of *ἀνδάνω*, but *ἀδήσω*, the future to *ἀνδάνω*; the different particles expressing that the former is formed regularly from it, but that the latter is only *joined with it and placed under it* for convenience. A plan of the same kind might be introduced into our grammars and lexicons with singular advantage, as it would often impress on the minds of younger students an important distinction, which now too generally escapes observation, or passes off under the indefinite term of an irregularity.

We have been the more minute in illustrating these rules, be-

cause we are heartily ashamed of the present state of our lexicons and dictionaries—and, after the maturest consideration, feel convinced that the Greek language can never be studied as it deserves to be, nor fully understood, until we possess a lexicon formed on some such plan, and by some such rules, as we have drawn up. We are confident, that no Greek lexicon, unless conducted on such principles, will be of any extensive use to the classical world, or permanently redound to the credit of its author: whereas, if managed in the manner we have described, with suitable care and talent, it would prove an eternal monument of the learning and industry of its compilers, and soon throw into disuse all the editions of Stephanus, or Scapula, or Schneider, which ever have been or ever will be published.

ART. IV.—THE LAMENT OF DAVID OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN, II SAM. I. 19—27. TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY.

By the Editor.

INTRODUCTION.

The name of David is distinguished among the leaders of the Jewish theocracy, as "the man after God's own heart." As the magnanimous warrior and chivalrous chief; as the sweet Psalmist of Israel, pouring forth upon his harp strains to touch and melt the hearts of millions in every age and clime until the end of the world; he stands and will forever stand alone. Were we disposed to regard him merely as a warlike chief, there are in his history traits of magnanimity and romantic valour, which alone would have immortalized inferior men. Wit-

ness his daring combat with Goliath; his repeated forbearance to take the life of Saul when thrown into his power, when his heart smote him because he had cut off even Saul's skirt;* and his conduct when, on his longing to drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem,† three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines and drew water from the well and brought it to him, yet he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord and said, 'Be it far from me, O Lord, that I should do this; is it not the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?' Or if we look at him as an inspired poet, he is, above all others, who has expressed most fully the enjoyments and the longings, the complaints and the rejoicings, of the pious soul; so that his strains have ever been and ever will be adopted by all pious minds, as the fittest expression of their own feelings, and composed as it were expressly for themselves.‡

It is, however, not as the monarch of Israel or a prophet of the Lord, that we have now to do with him; but as a man, a friend, a fellow-mortal, in the social relations of private life. In this respect, there is no one of the distinguished men of the Old Testament, whose character the records of inspiration have so fully developed. It might be sufficient, perhaps, to refer only to that trait of frank, confiding generosity, which could overlook all injuries and embrace even former enemies as friends; as in the case of Saul above referred to; of Abner, for whom he wept as for a prince and a great man fallen in Israel;§ of Amasa;|| and likewise of the false and ungrateful Absalom, the deep meanings of a father's grief for whom, cannot be read without tears.¶ But our purpose draws us to dwell more particularly upon the tone of deep and confiding emotion and generous feeling, which made him the warmest of friends, and procured for him the most devoted attachment in return. We see this exemplified in several instances; but in none so strikingly as in the mutual affection of David and Jonathan,—a friendship than which none is more renowned in the history and poetry of the world.

It is not necessary here to dwell upon the circumstances of

* 1 Sam. c. 24. c. 26.

† 2 Sam. 23: 15 sq. 1 Chr. 11: 17 sq.

‡ Compare the language of Luther, as quoted by De Wette, *Bibl. Repos.* III. p. 450.

§ 2 Sam. 3: 31 sq.

|| 2 Sam. 19: 13.

¶ 2 Sam. 18: 5, 29 sq. 19: 1 sq.

this mutual attachment ; they cannot be depicted in brighter or more touching colours than the simple language of the sacred historian : "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul."* And when by the perverse jealousy and malignity of Saul, David was compelled to flee, and Jonathan had given him the concerted signal to this effect, "they kissed one another, and wept one with another, until David exceeded."† From this time onward, they appear to have met but once, when, during Saul's ungenerous pursuit of David, "Jonathan arose and went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God ; and they two made a covenant before the Lord."‡ It was not long after, that David was called to give utterance to his feelings over the melancholy fate of Jonathan, in the exquisite elegy which we are about to consider ; and the strength and permanency of his affection was manifested by the constant personal interest which he afterwards took in Mephibosheth, the only remnant of the family of Jonathan, and by the generous provision which he made for his support.

The character of Jonathan appears to have been the reflex of that of David, full of deep and tender feeling, and of true affection under the most difficult circumstances. Indeed, the first advances in their friendship seem to have been chiefly on his part ; as was doubtless natural, he being the elder of the two, and a prince of the reigning family. If he had less of that bold and determined enterprise, which fits men to become successful chiefs and leaders, he was at least not wanting in that daring personal heroism which challenges the admiration of a people. This is manifest from his romantic and successful attack upon the Philistines' garrison at Michmash § and that all Israel looked upon him as 'their beauty and their pride,' is evinced by the manner of their interference on that occasion, to prevent the fatal execution of the rash vow of Saul.||

A few words only need to be premised, respecting the circumstances of the battle in which Saul and his sons were slain, in order to illustrate some of the allusions in the following poem. The Philistines had gathered their armies together against Israel, and pitched in Shunem in the great plain of Esdraelon ;**

* 1 Sam. 18: 1. 20: 11 sq.

† 1 Sam. 20: 41.

‡ 1 Sam. 23: 16 sq.

§ 1 Sam. 14: 1 sq.

|| 1 Sam. 14: 24 sq. 45.

** 1 Sam. 28: 4.

while Saul gathered all Israel and pitched on the mountains of Gilboa, which skirt the plain on the east, and separate it from the valley of the Jordan. Saul at this time was in great despondency. The Lord had forsaken him, and answered him not; and in his distress he had rashly applied to the sorceress of Endor. There the spirit of Samuel had appeared to him and announced his fate: "The Lord will deliver Israel with thee into the hands of the Philistines; and tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me."* Saul returned the same night to his camp; in the meantime the Philistines had advanced in the plain to Aphek, while the Israelites descended from the mountain as far as to a fountain in the eastern part of the plain.† Here the battle commenced; with what feelings on the part of Saul may be imagined. "The Philistines fought against Israel; and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down slain in mount Gilboa."‡ The four sons of Saul, including Jonathan, were slain; and Saul himself wounded. What wonder, that in his anguish and despair, he should call upon his armour-bearer to slay him, or should himself fall upon his own sword? It was indeed a day of darkness and of calamity to Israel. The inhabitants of the adjacent cities forsook them and fled, and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

The sad intelligence was brought to David and his companions at Ziklag, a place three days' journey from the plain of battle towards the South West.§ It was communicated by an Amalekite, who claimed to have slain Saul at his own request, and produced his crown and bracelet as tokens of the truth of his words.|| The blow was sudden, and probably unexpected. "Then David took hold on his clothes, and rent them; and likewise all the men that were with him. And they mourned

* 1 Sam. 28: 19.

† 1 Sam. 29: 1. Perhaps the fountain mentioned by Dr Richardson; see *Bibl. Repos.* I. p. 601.

‡ 1 Sam. 31: 1.

§ 1 Sam. 30: 1.

|| The seeming inconsistency of the Amalekite's narrative with 1 Sam. 31: 4—6, may be removed in two ways; either by supposing the Amalekite to have invented his story in the hope of obtaining favour with David; or by supposing that Saul did not immediately die after falling on his own sword, but rose up again. The latter would seem to be implied in the language ascribed to Saul in 2 Sam. 1: 9, and also from v. 10.

and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of the Lord, and for the house of Israel; because they were fallen by the sword." In immediate connexion with this, the sacred historian proceeds to say: "And David lamented this lament over Saul and over Jonathan his son. Also he bade teach the children of Judah [this song of] THE Bow:* lo! it is written in the book of Jasher."†

From a review of all the circumstances, it is apparent, that although in bewailing the calamities of his country, the poet would naturally be led to introduce Saul as its prince and champion, yet his thoughts would instinctively turn to his tried and faithful friend and brother, the affectionate, the heroic Jonathan, the pride of his country, thus cut off with his brave companions by an untimely fate. We are now prepared to enter upon this pathetic Lamentation.

DAVID'S LAMENT.

2 SAM. 1: 19—27.

19 הַצְבִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בְּמוֹתֶיהָ חָלַל
אִיהָ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים:

20 אֶל־תִּגִּידוּ בְּגֵת
אֶל־תִּבְשְׂרוּ בְּחוֹצֹת אֲשַׁקְלֹךְ
פֶּן־תִּשְׁמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים
פֶּן־תִּעֲלֶזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעַרְלִים:

21 הָרִי בְּגִלְבָּעַ
אֶל־טַל וְאֶל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם
וְשִׁדְי תַּרְוָמוֹת

* See Calmet, art. *Bow*.

† See Bibl. Repoa. III. p. 726. The miserable forgery under the name *Book of Jasher*, got up in England a century since and recently attempted to be revived, has been fully exposed by Mr Horne.

כִּי שָׁם נָנַעַל מִגֵּן גְּבוּרִים
מִגֵּן שְׂאוֹל כְּלִי מַעֲיִחַ בַּשָּׁמַיִם:

22 מִדָּם חָלָלִים יִמְחַלֵּב גְּבוּרִים
קָשַׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נִשְׁוֹג אַחֲוֹר
וְחֶרֶב שְׂאוֹל לֹא תִשָּׁב רִיקָם:

23 שְׂאוֹל וַיְהוֹנָתָן הִנָּאֲהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימָם בְּחַיֵּיהֶם
וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרְדּוּ
מִנְּשָׁרִים קָלִו
מֵאֲרִיּוֹת גְּבָרִי:

24 בָּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שְׂאוֹל בְּכִינָה
הִפְלַבְשָׁכֶם שְׁנֵי עַם־עַדְנִים
הִפְעֵלָה עָדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשִׁי:

25 אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גְבוּרִים בְּחוּךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה
יְהוֹנָתָן עַל פְּמוֹתֶיהָ חָלָל:

26 צָר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי יְהוֹנָתָן
נָעַמְתָּ לִּי מְאֹד
נִפְלְאַתָּה אֶהְבֶּתְךָ לִּי
מֵאֶהֱבַת נָשִׁים:

27 אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גְבוּרִים
וַיֵּאבְדּוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה:

TRANSLATION.

- 19 Beauty of Israel, slain upon thy mountains !
How are the mighty fallen !
- 20 Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon ;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
- 21 Mountains of Gilboa !
No dew, nor rain upon you,
Nor fields of offerings !
For there was cast away the shield of the mighty,
The shield of Saul not anointed with oil.
- 22 From the blood of the slain, from the flesh of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
The sword of Saul returned not in vain.
- 23 Saul and Jonathan were loving and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death they were not divided.
They were swifter than eagles,
They were stronger than lions.
- 24 Daughters of Israel ! weep over Saul ;
Who clothed you in scarlet with delights,
Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.
- 25 How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle !
O Jonathan, slain upon thy mountains !
- 26 Wo is me for thee, my brother Jonathan !
Very pleasant hast thou been to me ;
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women !
- 27 How are the mighty fallen !
And the weapons of war perished !

NOTES.

The preceding arrangement of the poem shows that it is not less perfect in external symmetry, than in surpassing tenderness. It opens with an exclamation, addressed to the friend and brother fallen with his brave companions in battle upon their native mountains; and this is repeated as a refrain or burden with slight variations, v. 25, 27. Compare Ps. 42: 5, 11. 43: 5. The whole lament is full of similar prosopopœia and exclamation; see v. 20, 21, 24, 26.

VERSE 19. *Beauty of Israel*, i. e. Jonathan, the ornament and pride of the nation; comp. v. 25, where in the same refrain the name of Jonathan is substituted. Besides this requirement of poetical symmetry, it accords with nature that the first burst of grief should address itself directly to the beloved object. The form *הַצִּבְרִי*, with the article, also indicates the vocative; Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 654. 4. Stuart § 412. d. The word *צִבְרִי* properly signifies *beauty, ornament, glory, pride*; e. g. Is. 13: 19, Babylon is *צִבְרִי מַמְלָכוֹת*, *the glory of kingdoms*. Ez. 20: 6, 15, the land of Israel is *צִבְרִי לְכָל-הָאָרָצוֹת*, *the glory of all lands*. Dan. 11: 16, 41, *אֶרֶץ הַצִּבְרִי*, *land of beauty*, is put for the land of Israel; and *צִבְרִי* alone, Dan. 8: 9.

But the word *צִבְרִי*, like the Aramean *ܘܒܪܝܐ*, Arab. *ظبي*, signifies also *a gazelle*, one of the fleetest and most beautiful of the antelope tribe, and the frequent emblem of beauty and gracefulness among oriental poets. Thus Cant. 2: 9, "My beloved is like the gazelle;" comp. Prov. 5: 19. Hence some have here translated: *Gazelle of Israel, slain upon thy mountains!* The figure is exceedingly beautiful; and were the gratification of taste alone concerned, I would not scruple to adopt this rendering. But after long hesitation, it seems to me that the other line of the refrain, as also the variation in v. 25, requires here the more literal sense; especially as the gazelle is properly the emblem of delicacy and grace, not of manly strength and valour.

I have preferred the word 'mountains' to 'high places,' because the latter in the common usage of our version refers to idolatrous worship. For the use of *בְּמִזְבְּחֵי* to designate mountains, comp. Num. 21: 28, *בְּמִזְבְּחֵי אֲרֹנוֹן*, *mountains of Arnon*. Jer. 26: 18, *הַר הַבָּיִת הַזֶּה יִבְנוּ לְבֵית הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, *the mount of the temple [shall become] as forest mountains*. Mic. 3: 12. Ez. 36: 2, coll. v. 1.

The form **דָּוָל** signifies properly *pierced*; hence it takes in general the sense of *wounded*, Job 24: 12. Ps. 69: 27. Jer. 51: 52; and also *slain*, Num. 19: 16. Deut. 21: 1, 2, 3, 6.

Having thus endeavoured to vindicate the correct poetical sense of this verse, it remains to observe, that interpreters in all ages have differed very much in the application of the words **דָּוָל צִבְרִי**. Their various opinions may be ranged under three classes, viz.

1. Those which adhere to the literal sense of **צִבְרִי**, *beauty, glory*, etc. and mostly make it in the vocative. It is then variously applied, viz. (1.) To God; thus Junius and Tremellius: *O decus Israelis, in excelsis tuis confossi*, etc. (2.) To the heroes of Israel collectively, or perhaps to Saul and Jonathan in particular; so the Vulg. *Inclyti Israel, super montes tuos interfecti sunt*. But Luther takes it in the nominative: *Die Edelsten in Israel sind auf deiner Höhe erschlagen*. (3.) To the land of Israel; so the Engl. Bibles of 1589, 1599, etc. *O noble Israel, he [Saul] is slain upon thy high places*, etc. (4.) To mount Gilboa, by Prof. Stuart; see his Course of Heb. Study, p. 131.

2. Those which take **דָּוָל** in the sense of *gazelle*. The Syriac version first exhibits this interpretation, in the vocative form, but with nothing to shew whether it is addressed to Saul or Jonathan: *Gazelle of Israel, the slain are on thy mountains*. In this it is followed by the Arabic of the Polyglott. Among modern interpreters, Le Clerc seems to have been the first who adopted this sense; he translates thus: *O caprea Israelis*, etc. referring it to Saul. Michaelis, following in part the Syriac, has given to the whole an interrogative form, referring it to Jonathan: *Ist das Reh Israels auf deinen Höhen geschlagen?* This view seems at one time to have been adopted by Gesenius, who makes the **דָּוָל** interrogative; Lehrgeb. p. 657. 2. b. Augusti and De Wette drop the interrogation: *Das Reh, O Israel, blühet auf deinen Höhen*. The translation which coincides nearest with the general view I have given above, is that of Dr Geddes in his version, Lond. 1792—7, viz. *O antelope of Israel, pierced on thine own mountains!* It may be proper to remark, that I was not aware of this partial coincidence until more than three years after my own views had become fixed.

3. By a very singular variation, the Seventy appear to have read **דָּוָל** instead of **דָּוָל צִבְרִי**, and have translated thus: *Στήλων Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη σου τραυματιῶν*, i. e. *Erect, O Israel, a pillar for the slain*, etc. This is followed substantially by the Targum of Jonathan; and also by C. Thomson in his English version.

Whatever of beauty or propriety there may be in any of these

interpretations individually considered, the reasons above adduced, and especially the poetical symmetry and parallelism, seem to be decisive, that the appellation, "Beauty of Israel," can here appropriately and exclusively be applied only to Jonathan.

VERSE 20. This burst of patriotic feeling is best illustrated by the similar history of the Israelites after the death of Goliath and the defeat of the Philistines, 1 Sam 18: 6 sq. "The women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered as they played, and said :

"Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands."

VERSE 21. An imprecation against the mountains of Gilboa as the scene of carnage; not in the abrupt and vehement manner of the curse of Meroz in the Song of Deborah, Judg. 5: 23, but rather in a wild and plaintive strain of sad emotion. The plural is here used in allusion, probably, to the different peaks into which the range of Gilboa is divided, some of which rise to the height of one thousand feet above the Jordan.* For the construct form before א, see Gesen. Lebrg. p. 679. Stuart's Heb. Gram. § 432.

Fields of offerings imply fertile fields, producing the best and earliest fruits, such as one might bring in sacrifice to God.

The remainder of this verse seems to allude to that state of despondency and anguish of mind, in which Saul and the children of Israel entered into battle. No joyful anticipations, no forebodings of triumph were there; the Lord had forsaken them, and it had already been announced to Saul, that he and his sons should fall, and Israel be made captive. With what heart could even brave men fight under such circumstances? They could only yield to their fate; they rushed unprepared to the battle; they fought—but the 'shield of the mighty was cast away!'

The last line of the verse I have left ambiguous, precisely as it stands in the Hebrew. The epithet *not anointed with oil*, may refer either to the shield, or to Saul himself. If to the former, it presents another trait of Saul's despondency, that in his despair and anguish he neglected duly to prepare his armour and to anoint his shield before the battle. Compare Is. 21: 5, where the prophet, in announcing the sudden attack of Cyrus, makes the watchmen exclaim to the princes of Babylon, "*Arise, anoint the shield!*" as a preparation for instant fight. Jarchi says "Shields were made of tanned hides, and were anointed with oil in order to render them smooth;" as also to make them more compact and firm, and to prevent the breaking and decay of the leather. See Gesen. Comm. on

* Bibl. Repos. I. p. 599. Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. II. i. p. 111.

Is. 21: 5. So the Sept. *θυρεὸς Σαουλ οὐκ ἐχρίσθη ἐν ἔλαιῳ*. The only apparent objection to this interpretation lies in the use of the form *חָשִׁיף*, which is nowhere else applied to things, but always to persons, with the idea of consecration to some particular office or duty.

In this last manner have all the versions, except the Septuagint, understood *חָשִׁיף* in this passage as referring to Saul; and to complete the sense, have mostly supplied the particle of comparison *כְּ* before *חָשִׁיף*, viz. "The shield of Saul as if not anointed with oil;" i. e. as if he were not the Lord's anointed, as though he were a common man. This gives a sense entirely appropriate and poetical; and such an omission of *כְּ* is not unusual. Thus Ps. 11: 1, *Flee as a bird to your mountain*. Is. 51: 12, *man, who shall be made as grass*. Job 24: 6, Nah. 3: 12, 13. So the Vulgate, *quasi*; and so most modern versions. On the other hand, the Targum of Jonathan, the Syriac, and the Arabic, omit the negative, and render thus: "The shield of Saul, the anointed with oil;" i. e. the Lord's anointed.—Junius and Tremellius give a different turn to the idea, by taking *חָשִׁיף* not as a negative, but in the sense of *consumption, destruction*, as in Is. 38: 17; hence their version is: *per consumptionem ejus qui unctus erat deo*. Dr Geddes would read *כְּחָשִׁיף* for *חָשִׁיף*, on mere conjecture, and translates: "The shield of Saul, the armour of the anointed," etc.

In this verse Saul is made prominent by the poet, as being king, and therefore the champion and representative of Israel.

VERSE 22. Saul and Jonathan as warriors. The word *חֵלֶב* signifies literally *fat*; but as connected in parallelism with *דָּם*, *blood*, it means *fleshy fibre, flesh*. A striking illustration of this whole poetical figure, as also of the use of the words *flesh* and *blood* in this connexion, is found in Deut. 32: 42, *אֶשְׂכִּיר חֲצִי מִדָּם הָרָבִי, וְחָאֲכֹל בָּשָׂר, I will make my arrows drunk with blood, my sword shall devour flesh*. Compare also Shakspeare in Henry IV, "Full bravely hast thou *flesh'd* thy maiden sword." David probably chose the word *חֵלֶב* in preference to *בָּשָׂר*, on account of its resemblance in sound to the form *חֶרֶב*, *sword*, in the corresponding parallel clause,—a reason which did not exist in the different construction of Moses' song. Compare also *מִשְׁמָן*, Ps. 78: 31. Is. 10: 16.

VERSE 23. Saul and Jonathan as affectionate and amiable in their mutual private relations. Parent and child, they loved each other in life, and were also one in death. Their uncommon physical powers are also beautifully described.

VERSE 24. For the invocation of the daughters of Israel to

weep over Saul, compare the expression of our Lord, Luke 23: 28, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me," etc. Comp. also Judg. 11: 40. The idea implied is, that under Saul the land had attained to such a degree of wealth and prosperity, that elegance and splendour of dress were within the reach of all. *Scarlet* was the favourite colour of the wealthy and noble; see Prov. 31: 21. Lam. 4: 5. Dan. 5: 7, 16, 29. This appeal to the instinctive taste of the sex, well comports with the general character of oriental females; compare Judg. 5: 28 sq. Bibl. Repos. I. p. 608 sq.

The expression עִם צְרִיחִים, *with delights*, means probably as in the English version, 'with *other* delights,' i. e. he procured them other delicacies, enjoyments, etc. It may however be taken as in the place of an adjective, for *delightful, pleasing*, qualifying צְרִיחִי, *scarlet*; this however is less usual; comp. Gesen. Lehrs. p. 646. 4. Stuart's Heb. Gram. § 442.—The form מְצַרְחִים is Particip. Hiph. with Suff. of 2 plur. masc. applied to females; see the same usage in Ruth 1: 8, 9, 11, 13. Ex. 1: 21. Judg. 19: 24. al. Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 731. 2. a. Stuart's Heb. Gram. § 476. b.

VERSE 25. See on v. 19, and the introduction. The initial verse of the poem is here repeated as a refrain, and the national part of the lament may be said to be closed.

VERSE 26. The poet now in a few touching words of exquisite pathos, gives utterance to his own private sorrow. The expressive צָרָה־לִּי of the Hebrew cannot well be given in English. As most nearly corresponding to it I have chosen our plaintive old Saxon, *Wo is me for thee*, from the old English version in the editions of 1584—99, etc.

VERSE 27. The refrain is varied by the omission of the personal address, and the substitution of a different parallel clause.

ART. V.—LITERARY NOTICES.

By the Editor.

I. *The Zend Language and Zend-Avesta.* From Prof. Kosegarten.

In our second Number, Vol. I. p. 407, is a notice respecting the Zend-Avesta, its antiquity and authority, and the general merits of the translation by Anquetil du Perron; as also respecting the proposed publication of the original by Prof. J. Olshausen of Kiel, in which we regret to learn that no progress has been made beyond the *Fasciculus* there announced. In the mean time, however, the same labour has been undertaken in France, by the distinguished oriental scholar Eugene Burnouf, who is proceeding with more rapidity in giving to the public a *litho-autographic* copy of the Parisian manuscript, under the title: *Vendidad Sade, l'un des livres de Zoroastre. Publié d'après le manuscrit Zend de la bibliothèque du Roi. Texte Zend.* Livraison 1—8. Paris 1830—33. fol. pp. 448. The following remarks upon the publications of Burnouf and Olshausen, are from the pen of Prof. Kosegarten, one of the most learned and judicious of oriental scholars; and their value is enhanced not only by the critical estimate given of Anquetil's version, but also by the information afforded as to the nature and character of the Zend language, and the sources from which an acquaintance with it is to be derived. The remarks are extracted from an article in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for June 1833, Nos. 96, 97.

"In the zeal with which the study of oriental philology is at present pursued, it was to be expected, that new attention and a thorough investigation would soon be applied to the ancient religious books of the Persians; which were first introduced to us by Anquetil du Perron, and which we call Zend-Avesta. That Anquetil's translation of these books was in many places paraphrastic, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, was indeed very obvious from the notes which he inserted by way of philological illustration in the margin of his work. In these the uncertainty of his exposition is constantly conspicuous, so soon as he makes any attempt at etymological explanation, as also when he often

says, *Ces paroles peuvent se rendre encore de cette manière, or Ou pourroit encore traduire ainsi.* Anquetil never gives any explanation in respect to the grammatical character of the Zend in its details; nor has he left behind any lexicographical attempts in regard to that language. The meagre vocabularies printed in his work were not composed by him, but merely copied in India; and they are so imperfect, that neither the grammatical endings nor other forms are properly distinguished. We find in them everywhere such specifications as the following would be in a Latin vocabulary, viz. *hominum*, man; *tibi*, thou; *nostrum*, I; *purusque*, pure; *venisti*, to come. These vocabularies were probably taken from some kind of interlinear version of the Zend text; they are properly *glosses*. Anquetil undoubtedly made his translation chiefly in accordance with an oral interpretation, which the Parsees at Surat repeated to him. He appears never to have attained to any real acquaintance with the grammatical forms of the Zend language; since he has so frequently in his version utterly neglected them. This careless mode of pursuing the study of philology deserves in him indeed a milder censure; because in his time the exact and critical mode of studying languages, demanded nowadays, was wholly unknown, and all the more important helps and preparatory labours were still entirely wanting.

"The first requisite in order to render the study of the Zend text possible, naturally was to make this text accessible to the public by the aid of printing or lithography; since it can be in the power of very few scholars to make use of the manuscripts existing at Paris, Copenhagen, and Oxford. This task of multiplying copies of the text, the editors of the two works above-mentioned have undertaken; both of them with the help of lithography, although the preparation of Zend types for printing cannot be attended with any great difficulty or expense, and has in fact already been accomplished in Berlin.* Indeed, the Zend alphabet contains by no means so great a number of letters and signs, as for instance the Arabic or the Devanagari for the Sanscrit.

"M. Burnouf has advanced the farthest in his lithographic labours. He gives a *fac simile* of the Paris manuscript, which contains the *Vendidad Sade* in the order preferred by the present Parsees,

* These types are found in Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik der Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen*, etc. Berlin 1833.

viz. so that the three books *Izeshne*, *Vispered*, and *Vendidad* are section-wise mingled together. The *Izeshne* we know is divided into sections called *Hâs*, the *Vispered* into *Kardes*, and the *Vendidad* into *Fargards*. These *Hâs*, *Kardes* and *Fargards* stand in the Paris manuscript all mixed up together. The editor announces, that he intends also to give hereafter a new translation of the *Vendidad Sade*, with a commentary. In this he will be able to avail himself with great advantage of a Sanscrit version of the *Izeshne* at Paris, which appears to be very literal, and has been described by him in the 'Journal Asiatique.' This Sanscrit version was made by a Parsee named Nerioseng, about three centuries ago; and M. Burnouf has already announced his intention of publishing it. In his edition of the Zend text, M. Burnouf gives only the text of a single manuscript, without meddling at all with various readings.

"Prof. Olshausen gives in his edition, which also is lithographic, only the book *Vendidad*, exclusive of the *Izeshne* and the *Vispered*. We have here consequently the text of the *Vendidad* continuously, and divided only into its *Fargards*, as we find it in Anquetil's French version. In the margin the editor has subjoined various readings derived from another Paris manuscript; it is matter of surprise, that he has not also made use of the Copenhagen manuscripts. The selection of a text among these various readings, must of course, in our present imperfect acquaintance with the Zend language, be very much a matter of hazard; still, the addition of these readings is at all events to be commended. The letters and strokes in Olshausen's edition are smaller and more distinct than in that of Burnouf. The first part or *fasciculus* of the former, which appeared in 1829, extends only to the fourth *Fargard* of the *Vendidad*, which contains in all twenty-two *Fargards*. Since that time nothing further of this edition has appeared, so far as I know; nor do I know whether it will be continued. The editor promised also an *Apparatus criticus et lexicalis*.

"The sources from which we may derive aid in investigating the Zend language are at present the following: Anquetil's translation of the Zend-Avesta; the Zend and Pehlvi vocabularies communicated by him, and many others of the same kind which lie in manuscript at London and Copenhagen; the Sanscrit translation of the *Izeshne* by Nerioseng; the Pehlvi copies of the Zend books; and finally the comparison of the Zend with the Sanscrit, which has been recently applied, particularly by

Bopp, with great success. The Zend indeed, in its roots and in its grammatical forms, is a near sister of the Sanscrit; and hence also its affinity with the Greek, Latin, and Gothic, is a natural consequence.

"Works which have recently appeared and which afford aid for the illustration of the Zend text, are the following. Rask in his treatise: *Ueber das Alter und die Aechtheit der Zend-sprache*, Berlin 1826, has given the pronunciation and power of the Zend letters more exactly and correctly, than had been done by Anquetil. Bohlen in his essay: *De origine linguæ Zendicae*, Königsb. 1831, has instituted many comparisons of Zend words and grammatical forms with those of the Sanscrit and modern Persian; but has built too much upon Zend words which are often incorrectly explained in Anquetil's vocabularies. Burnouf, in the 'Journal Asiatique,' 1829, has explained several passages of the Zend text with the help of the Sanscrit version of Nerioseng, and has added some general remarks on several grammatical peculiarities of the Zend; he has also done the like in a review of Bohlen's essay in the 'Journal des Savans' for Aug. 1832. Bopp, however, has in this respect accomplished more than all others, in several articles in the 'Berliner Jahrbücher,' and in the later portions of his *Grammatica critica linguæ Sanscritæ*. He has pointed out the relation of many Zend forms to the corresponding Sanscrit forms, and has accurately explained many single passages of the Zend text, thus correcting the translation of Anquetil. He also has first pointed out the mythological affinity between the Zend doctrines and those of India; e. g. with reference to the Indian beings *Fama*, *Aswinas*, *Writrahan*, which re-appear in the Zend-Avesta; to which mythological affinities Burnouf has also quite recently added some others, e. g. with reference to *Gershasp* i. q. *Krishaswa*, *Elborsh* i. q. *Wrihat*, and others. The *Vergleichende Grammatik* of Bopp, however, [mentioned in the preceding note,] affords still more complete exhibitions of the Zend forms; and properly so, since the Zend now constitutes an important member in the Indo-European family of languages.

"By the use of the helps already extant for the study of the Zend text, we are able in many parts to understand the text perfectly, and to give an exact and sufficiently certain account of the grammatical form of each single word. But we often find ourselves brought to a stand, especially by roots and words peculiar to the Zend, which are not contained in the kindred

languages, and the signification of which cannot with certainty be assumed from the connexion nor from Anquetil's translation. The Zend, in its grammatical forms, is occasionally more complete and antique than the Sanscrit, and agrees sometimes with the more ancient Veda-Sanscrit; sometimes however the Zend terminations are already much abraded, and many case-endings have thus come to have the same sound. The same relation in respect to forms still entire, is found in many ancient kindred languages; one language or dialect has retained the antique shape in one form; another dialect has it no longer in this same form, but in another; while neither has, more than the other, the stamp of antiquity throughout. The Zend words seem to be tolerably rich in vowels; inasmuch as the Zend loves to insert, first, a short *a* before another vowel; and, secondly, a short *i* in a syllable, when the following syllable ends with *i* or *e*. E. g.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	
<i>giri</i> . . .	<i>gatri</i> . . .	mountain.
<i>sreshṭa</i> : . .	<i>sraesta</i> : . .	better.
<i>ētē</i> . . .	<i>ætē</i> . . .	these; <i>hi</i> .
<i>ētēshām</i> . . .	<i>ætaēshām</i> . . .	of these, <i>horum</i> .
<i>api</i> . . .	<i>api</i> . . .	also.
<i>bharati</i> . . .	<i>baraiti</i> . . .	he bears, <i>fert.</i> "

The remainder of Prof. Kosegarten's article is occupied with critical discussions upon quite a number of passages of the Zend-Avesta, and the consequent correction of Anquetil's version: These discussions may very properly be subjoined to the list of helps above given by himself.

II. *German Philosophy.* From the German of Prof. F. E. Beneke, of Berlin.

The following remarks will perhaps be interesting to some of our readers, as presenting the German philosophy in contrast with the prevailing systems in England and America; and thus exhibiting in a more tangible form some of the peculiar characteristics of the former. We translate them from a review of Prof. Upham's work: *Elements of Mental Philosophy*; contained in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle for July 1833; Erg. B. Nos. 66, 67. The article is by Prof. Beneke, himself a very respectable writer on philosophy; and while he does justice to the merits of the work in point of ability, he takes occasion, in remarking upon it, to state occasionally the doctrines of Ger-

man philosophers on the various topics in question. We give here the introduction and conclusion of the article ; the remainder is chiefly an analytical statement of the contents of the work reviewed.

“In the mode of treating philosophy also, every nation develops a peculiar character, precisely corresponding to that which is manifested by it in the other departments of life. Among the English there predominates a cautious collection and analysis of the results of experience, not exactly deep and discriminating, but exercised with great good sense and to a comprehensive extent, and applied more particularly to the feelings and other *immediate* forms of conviction. On the other hand, we find prominent among the French only *single* ideas, partly borrowed from others, and partly first presented in the form of hasty suggestions, but arranged together with piquancy and clothed in a splendid rhetoric. The Italians in recent times seem to have made it their chief employment, to sift with acuteness what has been advanced by other nations, and thus prepare it for an appropriate general survey. We Germans, finally, are, on the one hand, also here the *learned*—more comprehensive than other nations, although of late somewhat restricted in consequence of an overweening self-estimation—while on the other hand, there certainly lies in our philosophical efforts a more perfect *norm* or rule both of proof (*Begründung*) and of deduction (*Ableitung*), than in those of any other nation. Hitherto, indeed, we have not arrived at any proper materials, any sure foundation, for the application of this norm ; but have for the most part only built up castles of shade and mist in the air.

“In like manner the North Americans, after having once begun to occupy themselves in earnest with philosophy, have impressed upon this occupation likewise their own peculiar national character. Being themselves in general only a branch of an European people, their philosophy also has as yet presented nothing in any way original. Not only, indeed, do they with great diligence appropriate to themselves whatever of philosophical knowledge is any where brought to light, and especially in their mother country ; and exhibit, in the selection of that which they thus appropriate, the same strong good sense which is apparent in their political institutions ; but we also see them applying what they have thus gained, so immediately and to such an extent to *practical* life, that it is very evident, they have sought this knowledge from the very first only with a view to this ap-

plication. An article in the *North American Review*,* which we saw not long since, attempts in the introduction to excite a taste for a more zealous and persevering study of philosophy, than has hitherto prevailed in the United States. A German would at once have broken out into dithyrambics on the divine sublimity of this science, and have hurried the reader away into its celestial regions. But how is it with the American? We see him examining through several pages, how the principle of the association of ideas is, and may be made, just as powerful in controlling the intellectual and moral world, as the principle of the power of steam for operating upon the material world. 'Supposing,' he says, 'all that has been written and said about the principle of the association of ideas had been suppressed, can it be conceived, that every individual in the world at this moment would have been equally wise and skilful, equally happy and virtuous?—Of two orators, in other respects equal, which should we most confidently select for the management of a cause, one who has been taught the doctrine of association and all its known relations and effects, or one who only instinctively and unconsciously acts upon it? To us there seems a vast accession of power and resources placed at the disposal of the former.—When gloomy thoughts overshadow and oppress the soul, the well educated man, who happily has not neglected the science of the mind, recollects what he has been taught in books, and in the lecture room, concerning contorted trains of ideas, and the power of the associating principle. He therefore seizes the assistance of this intellectual instrument to lead his attention towards brighter objects of contemplation, and thus to dissipate his gloom. And this he does with much more avidity and effect, than the untutored son of sorrow, who, unacquainted with the whole nature and extent of the blessed power within him, makes perhaps, or perhaps not, a few faint efforts, which instinct may benevolently prompt, to turn the train of his ideas and feelings, but soon again desperately yields up his soul to its fixed and haunting agony.' So too the influence of this principle in all literary labours is described as vast; and the reviewer goes on to suggest how much is still to be done in the way of experiment, in respect not only to this, but to a hundred other similar relations.

"The same fundamental character we find in the work be-

* Vol. XIX. No. 45. p. 4 sq.

fore us. Written for students, it lays no claim to originality; the author professes only to give a condensed and impartial survey of that which is received as clearly and certainly known by the most distinguished philosophical thinkers of all nations.

“In general,—and this was for the writer the most interesting point in the book,—it is hardly possible to conceive of a more thorough-going contrast, than exists between the mode of treating philosophy here exhibited, and that which prevails among us Germans. While in Germany, generally speaking, in philosophy, the proof (*Begründung*) from experience, as belonging to a certain common ground, is put under a sort of ban; we find the author of this work referring every thing back to experience, not only in general, but with a very decided preference to *external* experience.—If, further, an analytical *division* (*Eintheilung*) is to be introduced, or the analytical *exhibition of a complex whole* (*Darlegung eines Mannichfaltigen*), we Germans take it for granted from the very outset, even before half the materials, or subject to be thus divided or exhibited, are in our possession, that the division or exhibition will be *absolutely exhausting*, and *eternally immutable*,—an eternity, it is true, which not seldom finds its end with the next Leipsic fair. On the other hand, the American author, inclining too far on the opposite extreme, never makes completeness and the final settling of a question even so much as his aim; but every where contents himself with saying, he will by no means maintain that this or that may not be added to his enumeration, or that a more appropriate arrangement may not be given to it.

“In all this, it has anew occurred to the writer, how great an unanimity is manifested in the developements of the modern and most recent philosophy among all nations; however much they may appear to the superficial observer to stand in entire contradiction with each other. The view which, through a species of misapprehension, was found in Locke’s *Essay on the Human Understanding*, that all human knowledge comes *from without*, was pressed to its extreme point by Condillac, Hume, and some others. Hence arose a reaction, in Scotland through Reid, in Germany through Kant; in so far as it was maintained, that for the production of all knowledge *certain primitive elements*, originating from our own minds, must be superadded as equally es-

sestial. Now that, according to Kant, these mental or spiritual elements *consist* mostly in conceptions (Begriffe); or according to the doctrines of the Scottish school have all of them a more *special* and *immediate* form; is surely only a subordinate difference, in respect to which both parties may perhaps be about equally right and equally wrong. The fact that Kant undertakes to exhibit these principles of our knowledge in a complete scheme, according to a peculiar principle of deduction, while the Scottish school only places them together at random, testifies certainly to a more systematic spirit in the former; although in respect to the results, this is of no great importance, so long as the truth of the whole mode of exhibition must still be considered as problematical. In short, the essential view at bottom is on both sides precisely the same; whether we call the 'original suggestion,' in which both agree, by the names of *reine Anschauung* and *Kategorien* (pure intuition and categories), or *constitution of mind*, *judgments of nature*, *relative suggestions*, etc. But against this reaction, a new and highly important further reaction has taken place. The question, namely, arises, whether these primitive elements, thus superadded from the human mind for the production of knowledge, are really *originally* given in the mind as a something *already complete*; or whether they are not perhaps, at least the greater part of them, *first formed* in the developement of the human soul; so that consequently the imparting of them may be not *original*, but have taken place *later*. This is the great problem, with which we now see the philosophical investigations of every country occupied. Along with this effort, moreover, to prove what has been held as *original* to be something *first developed*, inquiries have not stopped short at these forms of pure intuition, categories, relative suggestions, etc. but every thing which has been adduced as in any way or form *born in or with* the human soul, has been subjected to this examination. This is especially true of the so called *abstract powers* or *faculties*, which have been introduced into the science from the popular view of physical developement. Thus we see them attacked in Italy by Romagnosi; in England, Dr Brown in his Lectures, as also in his Sketch of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, has shown that several of these reputed *original* powers are to be referred to the joint operation of others; the author of the work before us also in several places declares himself not indisposed to such a derivation; while among us in Germany war has been declared by Herbert against

all abstract faculties, as also, in a different way, by the writers. Yea, even our German *speculative* systems have obviously the same tendency; inasmuch as they no longer admit, in order for the production of knowledge, a mere flowing together of a dead existing form with the objective elements, but only a living plastic motion. Their chief error is, that they have carried out that in a fantastic imaginative manner, which, if carried out by means of a cautious analysis of the results of experience, will form the immutable basis of future psychology, and cast a light as yet unthought of, upon every department of life.

"Thus, then, that perplexing contradiction of philosophical developments, which seems to shut out from the future every prospect of unanimity, exists only so long as we are unable to penetrate the external shell and arrive at the kernel; while in this kernel we perceive such an unanimity in fact already so far prepared, that we may hope the time is not far distant, when it will shoot forth into light, and then rapidly spring up and bring forth rich blossoms and precious fruit."

III. *Additional Notices on Slavic Literature.*

The reviewer of Schaffarik's *Geschichte der Slavischen Literatur* in the Vienna *Jahrbücher*, Vol. XXXVII, 1827, evidently a profound Slavic scholar, rejects several of the opinions adopted in that work, and calls in question many others, some of which have been followed by the writer of the preceding sketch of the History of Slavic Literature. According to his view,—and in this he is not alone,—the dialect of the Bulgarians,* the Slavic 'Lingua Romana,' ought to have been treated as a separate language, distinct from the Servian branch,—with more right, indeed, than the Slovakish can be separated from the Bohemian. But the amount of certain information which we yet possess respecting this dialect, is so small, that even an error concerning it would be very excusable.—The same reviewer states, that the ancient manuscript in prose, mentioned on p. 427, has since been proved to be spurious. He also declares the signification assigned to the appellative 'Lekh, Lekhes,' on p. 472, to be a mistake, without however giving the true etymology and meaning in its place.

In addition to what is said in respect to the early Polish lit-

* Page 334, 400, above.

erature, p. 480, it may be added, that in 1828 a manuscript of A. D. 1453 was published under the title; *Pamiętniki Janczara*, etc. i. e. 'Journal of a Polish Nobleman,' who was induced by circumstances to enter the Turkish army during the siege and conquest of Constantinople. This work, besides containing some important historical information, is of still greater interest in respect to the Polish language, of which there exist so few ancient monuments; and which has altered so much, that it was found requisite to add a version in modern Polish, in order to render the work intelligible.

At the close of the History of Polish literature, it ought to have been mentioned, that in consequence of the late insurrection, the universities of Wilna and Warsaw have been suppressed, and in their stead a new one established at Kief; that, in order to deprive the Polish youth of all means for an independent national education, the great public library of Warsaw, as formerly that of Zaluski, has been removed to St. Petersburg; and, finally, that all the institutions for public education at the expense of the crown, have been removed to Russia.

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ART. I. ON THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL, OR THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, AT ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPT.

By E. Emerson, Prof. of Ecclesiastical History, in the Theo. Sem. Andover.

[PART SECOND CONTINUED.]

On the Doctrines taught in the Alexandrian School.

VI. ANTHROPOLOGY.

This term has been more frequently applied in respect to man's physical than his moral nature. The latter use, however, appears well established in Europe. The term seems as much needed in the science of morals as of physiology, if we would avoid the tedious, and often inaccurate or ambiguous, circumlocutions that have been employed in its place. I am therefore led to introduce it here, notwithstanding a deep dislike to uncommon terms. If such a technical word shall be found at all to aid us in the moral SCIENCE OF MAN, its office will be good.

On this subject the sentiments of some of these Alexandrian fathers have already been, in part, anticipated, while treating on other topics, in a previous part of this essay.

Athenagoras. According to this teacher, men become "virtuous or vicious, by their own free choice." Their nature, in itself, is good; and sin arises from free will, corrupted by evil spirits. "Although the same power of reason is common to all, yet they are severally borne away, in diverse directions, as each

one is partly inclined by his own disposition, and partly influenced by those evil *genii*, the prince of matter and his coadjutors.— And this happens to the soul, when it receives into itself the animal spirit, and is mingled with it in a kind of union, not looking upward to celestial things and their Maker, but wholly downward to the terrestrial, and to the earth, as though it were entirely flesh and blood, and no longer a pure spirit.”¹ Such declarations are, of course, made on the old assumption of the three fold nature of man, as consisting of *spirit, soul, and body*. This father, however, by no means supposed sin to proceed from the *body only*; nor, on the other hand, that the *mind alone* exercises virtue; but that both proceed from both, or from the whole man.²

Clement. This father is more explicit on the threefold nature of man, as held to by the Platonists; and according to which, he interpreted the language of Scripture in many places. In addition to the body, there is according to this writer the rational soul, or mind, *λογικὴ ψυχὴ, νοῦς*; and the fleshly, bodily, and irrational soul or spirit, *σωματικὴ ψυχὴ, πνεῦμα ἄλογον, σαρκικόν*. The *bodily soul*, or life, is made by God; the mind, the image of the *λόγος*, is breathed into man by God. “Yet, the soul is acknowledged to be the better part of man, and the body the poorer. But neither is the soul morally good by nature, nor the body morally bad by nature. Neither, indeed, is that forthwith evil, which is not good; for there are certain things which hold a middle place, both such as are *naturally* good and such as are naturally bad, *καὶ προηγμένα καὶ ἀποπροηγμένα*.”³

On *freedom of will*, he thus writes, immediately after speaking of a godly life: “Now, any thing is in our power, when we are equally the masters of that and of its opposite; as, to philosophize, or not; and to believe, or to disbelieve. And what is in our power, is found possible by our being equally masters of each of the opposite things.”⁴ And in another place, he contends, that “neither praises, nor censures, nor honours, nor punishments are just, if the soul has not the power of embracing or shunning; but the evil is involuntary. “Hence,” as he goes on to argue, “whoever hinders any one from doing a thing, is responsible for such hindrance; but he who does not thus in-

¹ Athen. Apol. c. 22, 23.

² See Guer. II. p. 104.

³ Strom. IV. 26.

⁴ Strom. IV. 24.

terpose, may justly sit in judgment on the choice of the soul ; so that God is not the responsible cause of our sin. But since free choice and voluntary seeking, are the commencement of sin, and a false notion sometimes prevails, which we through ignorance neglect to abandon, punishments are therefore justly inflicted. For to be sick of a fever is involuntary, but when one brings a fever on himself, by his intemperance, we blame him. Thus the *evil* may be involuntary, as no one chooses evil, simply *as evil* ; but drawn away by the pleasure that surrounds it, supposing it good, he decides to embrace it. These things being so, it is in our power to be free from ignorance and from an evil though pleasing choice, and in spite of them, to refuse our assent to these seductive illusions.”¹

Passages like the above, are frequent in the ancient fathers ; and they amply prove, that these fathers held to a genuine free will, in distinction from fate and from all constraint that would interfere with such freedom. But, when detached portions of these passages are brought, as they sometimes are, to prove that the fathers, who lived before Augustine, held to such a freedom of the will as to exclude the purposes, if not also the agency of God, in respect to man’s conduct, there is a sad mistake. Take, for instance, the passage last quoted ; and we find, that instead of human freedom’s being asserted in opposition to God’s foreknowledge and purposes respecting sin, it is here asserted and explained for the very purpose of vindicating the divine character against the charge, then frequently brought, and ever since brought, against God, for not preventing sin, when he had it in his power to prevent it. Clement had just spoken of one kind of sin, “the use which heathen philosophy had made of divine truth, and which God foresaw and did not prevent, and that because he had a good purpose for which he designed to overrule the sin, though the perpetrator had a different and bad purpose.” At this stage of his argument, he says, “I know there are multitudes continually rising up against us and saying, that he who does not prevent, is himself a responsible cause.” After dwelling on this position, and showing its absurdity in some respects, he thus continues : “But if we must scrutinize the matter closely, in opposition to these men, let them know, that, in what we speak of as taking place in theft, *non-prevention*, τὸ μὴ καὶ λυτικόν, is not at all a cause ; but *prevention*, (or that which is

¹ Strom. I. 17.

preventive,) τὸ σωλυστικόν, is liable to the responsibility of causation. For he who shields one, is the cause of his not being wounded, preventing him from being wounded. And the demon was a *cause* to Socrates, not in not preventing him, but in *persuading*, although he did not actually persuade him." Then follows the quotation given above, and which this view of its connexion may help us the better to understand, in other points beside the one for which I have more especially introduced it. While Clement holds to the perfect knowledge and power of God in governing free agents, in the fullest sense which any would claim, he, at the same time, takes very good care, that his statements may not seem inconsistent with the freedom of moral agents.

In connexion with these doctrines, Clement held to the exercise of faith in the work of acceptable obedience. He supposed faith, which he would denominate "a kind of natural art," to cooperate with pious instruction, and goes on to illustrate his views in the following manner. "Thus a prolific soil aids the germination of seeds; for the best instruction is useless, without the reception of the learner; and so is prophesying, without the obedience of the hearers. For dry straw, prepared to receive the power of fire, is easily kindled; and the celebrated stone [load-stone] attracts iron by its kindred nature; as also the tear of amber attracts straw, and amber draws up heaps of chaff. But the things thus attracted, obey those bodies, being drawn by an inexplicable breath (or spirit), πνεῦμα, not as the sole causes, but as the joint-causes. Now, the form of evil being two-fold, the one, that of deception and concealment, and the other, that of open and overpowering assault, the divine Word cries aloud, calling all collectively. And while he knew, most perfectly, those who would not obey, yet, because it is in our power to obey or not, that none might have ignorance to plead, he made a just call, and demands what is in the power of each one; for some have the power both to will and to do, having grown to this by careful practice, and are purified; but others though they are not yet able, have the power to will. The work of willing, belongs to the soul; but that of doing, is not without the body."¹ And a little before the passage just quoted, he says: "No longer, then, is faith a duty discharged by free choice, provided it is the prerogative of nature, [i. e. by physical necessity.] Nor does he receive a just

¹ Strom. II. 6.

recompense, who does not believe, since it is not his fault ; nor he who believes, since he is not the cause. Nor, if we rightly view the subject, could there be any peculiarity or difference between faith and unbelief, arising from either praise or blame, provided a physical necessity, from the Supreme Ruler, be the leading cause. But if we, like inanimate things, are moved with cords, by physical energies, both willingness and unwillingness are superfluous ; and so, likewise, is tendency, ὁμῆ, which precedes these. Nor do I yet understand the nature of that living being, whose bias, τὸ ὁμητικόν, necessity has allotted to be moved by a cause from without." Clement goes on to argue that there can be no room for repentance on this ground ; and then proceeds for substance, in the following manner : " So neither is baptism any longer reasonable ; nor the blessed seal ; nor the Son ; nor the Father. But God is found to be merely the arbitrary author of the certain natures ; which leaves no foundation for gospel salvation, viz. a voluntary faith. But we have learned from the Scriptures, that the power of choosing and refusing, arising from free will, αὐτοεπαρρησίη, is given by the Lord to men ; and therefore we repose with an immovable decision, in the scheme of faith, exhibiting a prompt and zealous spirit, because we have chosen life, and believed in God through his voice. And whoever believes the Word, knows the thing true ; for the Word is truth."¹

As to the *pre-existence of the soul*, Clement probably believed in the doctrine, at least so far as to hold that the soul is sent from heaven and infused into the body, which then becomes conscious. But he refutes the notion, that the soul is itself God, or a part of God.²

On the *creation and fall of Adam*, etc. he thus writes. " In addition to all, they ought to know this, that we are born with an adaptation, by nature, to virtue ; not, indeed, so that we have it from the commencement of existence, but we are fitted to acquire it. On this principle, is solved the doubt, started for us by the heretics, Whether Adam was formed perfect, τέλειος, or imperfect? And, if imperfect, how is the work of a perfect God imperfect? and, above all, man? But, if perfect, how does he transgress the commandments? They shall then hear from us, that he was not made perfect, at his formation, but was adapted to the acquisition of virtue. But it contributes much to virtue, that he was made with an adaptation to its attainment. The

¹ Strom. II. 3, 4.

² See Guer. II. p. 141.

design is, that we should be saved of our own selves. This, therefore is, the nature of the soul, that it should move of itself. Being then rational, and as philosophy pertains to reason, we possess something akin to it. And adaptedness is, indeed, a *bearing*, *φορά*, towards virtue, but not *virtue* itself. All, therefore, as I said, are naturally formed for the acquisition of virtue ; but one applies himself more, and another less, to knowledge and practice. Hence some attain to perfect virtue ; and others arrive at a degree of it ; while some, again, although otherwise of good qualities, *εὐφροὺς*, turn away in the contrary direction."¹

Again, speculating on the formation of the body of man, he says : " Man, simply considered, is formed according to the idea of the spirit with which the body is united ; for it is not produced without form and shapeless, in the workshop of nature, where the generation of man is mysteriously perfected, art and essence being both common. And each man is characterized by the mark imprinted on his soul by the things which he shall choose. According to this, we say, that Adam was perfect, as to his formation ; for nothing was wanting to him of those things which characterize the idea and form of man. But he, in coming into being, received perfection,—became completely a man, endowed with free will. That he should then choose, and much more, that he should choose what was forbidden, is not the fault of God, but of him who thus chose."²

It would seem, from the above, that Clement considered the moral state of infants, and the original state of Adam before he began to act, as essentially the same, 'being endowed indeed with an adaptation to virtue, but not virtuous in fact.'—But let us proceed with his views of the fall.

Considering free will, as man's noblest prerogative, he says ; " This nobleness is shown in choosing and practising the best things. But wherein did such nobleness of his, benefit Adam ? and that, as his father was no mortal ? for himself was the father of men who exist from generation. Following his wife, he eagerly chose base things, and neglected what are true and comely ; by which he exchanged an immortal for a mortal life ; but not forever."³ And elsewhere, he says : " the malignant serpent formerly drew Eve,—and now draws others into death."⁴ " The first man, once inhabiting Paradise, sported freely, as the

¹ Strom. VI. 11, 12.

² Strom. IV. 23.

³ Strom. II. 19.

⁴ Cohor. 1.

little child of God. But after he had subjected himself to voluptuousness, (for the serpent suggested such pleasure, as he crept upon his belly, an earthly vice,) seduced by depraved lusts the child grew up in disobedience. And disobeying his father, he dishonoured God. How powerful was pleasure! Man, loosed through simplicity, was found bound to sins. The Lord, desiring to loose him from these bonds again, assumed flesh," etc.¹

The following is his account of the first sin of Adam and Eve, taking it for granted, that the Scripture account is allegorical. "But although it was nature [not the serpent] that led them, as also irrational animals, *πρὸς παιδοποιῖαν, ἐκινήθησαν δι' αὐτὸν ἢ προσήκον ἦν ἔτι νέοι πεφυκότες*, being induced by the deceit [of the serpent]. The judgment of God was, therefore, just on them, as they would not await his will."²

On *original sin*, it is not perhaps easy to say what were his views. It is plain, from what has already been quoted, and from much more which might be adduced, that he could not consistently hold to the doctrine, in the sense in which it has been embraced by multitudes, especially since the days of Augustine. I know, indeed, of no passage in his writings, which shows that he considered a *capacity* or a *propensity* to sin, as being itself positively sinful; as he certainly did not consider an 'adaptedness to virtue, as being itself virtue,' as we have already seen. Yet he held clearly to the opinion, that all men sin; and that this is by nature, and even by something innate, as appears by the following incidental remark, which I will give in its connexion. "But he, [God,] joyfully accepts the penitence of the sinner, delighting in penitence which follows transgressions. For the Word alone is sinless. For, to sin, is innate and common to all,—*τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑξαμαρτάνειν, πᾶσιν ἐμφυτον καὶ κοινόν*. But to return, after sin, does not pertain to every man, but to him that is truly excellent."³

The following passage is about equally difficult and curious, and may possibly cast some light on his views. Arguing against those who considered generation itself to be sin, he thus proceeds. "*No one is free from pollution*, says Job, *not even though his life be but one day*. Let them tell us, Whence was this newborn infant guilty of fornication? or how has he fallen under the curse of Adam, who has done nothing? It consequent-

¹ Cohor.. 11. p. 174.

² Strom. III. 17

³ Paed. III. 12.

ly remains for them, as it seems, to say, that generation is evil, and not only the generation of the body, but also that of the soul; for the body is formed by the soul. And when David says, *I was conceived in sins, and in iniquities did my mother long, in my gestation*, he speaks as a prophet concerning mother Eve. But Eve was the mother of *those living*; and if he was *conceived in sins*, yet he was not himself in sin, nor was he himself sin. But whether each one who turns from sin to faith, turns to life from the custom of habitual sin, as from a mother, one of the twelve prophets shall bear me testimony, who says, *If I give my first born for my impiety, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul*. He does not blame him who said, *Be fruitful and multiply*; but the very first motions, *ôqual*, after generation, in which motions we know not God, he pronounces to be impieties.¹

It is not very easy to see, precisely, what this writer understood by some of the Scripture passages he thus quoted; but we see very clearly what he did *not* understand by them. While he held to no sin *previous to free agency*, it is not very unnatural for him to speak of sin *before birth*, as he supposed the soul to exist before the body, and to have, as it would seem, an intelligent agency in the formation of the body.

Besides the influence of evil spirits, he believed in two sources of sin. "Although men do myriads of things, yet there are but just two causes, *αἴτια*, of each sin, ignorance and weakness; but each of these is in our power, since we are neither willing to learn, nor to restrain lust. By one of these, we judge incorrectly; by the other, we are incompetent to the execution of right decisions.—Consequently, two kinds of discipline are delivered, adapted to each of the evils; for the one, knowledge and the clear exhibition of the testimony of the Scriptures; for the other, a system of practice, *ἀσκησις*, according to the Word, guided by faith and fear."²

But while error in the mind thus effected the heart and life, Clement believed no less in the power of the heart to guide the belief; as will appear from a passage which will, at the same time, teach us something else.

"But, as it appears, every heresy has, as its origin, not ears which hear what is useful, but such as are open only to things that pertain to pleasure; for any one would be healed, if he were

¹ Strom. III. 16. p. 488.

² Strom. VII. 16. p. 530.

only willing to obey the truth. There is a three-fold mode of curing this conceitedness, as also every affection; a knowledge of the cause; how it may be removed; and, thirdly, the systematic exercise and custom of the soul to be able to follow the things it rightly decides upon."¹

Clement also believed in the influences of the Holy Ghost in changing the heart, as is sufficiently evident from a clause in which he speaks of "the new man transformed by the Holy Spirit of God."²

Origen. He, like his predecessors, believed in the three-fold nature of man, body, soul, and spirit, of which the spirit, *πνεῦμα*, is the best, as not being infected with sin, and as existing in the conscience, and being able to discern the Holy Spirit, which is efficacious in the saints. The soul, though one substance, consists of two parts, the rational and the irrational. And the irrational is again divided into the two affections of desire and anger. This soul is capable of good and evil, and holds a middle rank between the body and the spirit. The body is a temporary and troublesome adjunct; and by its lusts, is often the seat and cause of sin to the soul. The human soul is immaterial and invisible, and has some affinity to God; while the soul of a brute, is its blood.³

Concerning *free-will*, he had at least as exalted an opinion as that already extracted from Clement.

He regarded it as the grand characteristic and prime glory of a rational being; and contends that whoever denies this free-will, virtually denies, not merely our responsibility as moral agents, but our power to reason, and even our very consciousness.

But it may be well to give a specimen of his own language on this topic. We shall thus see, if I mistake not, that the same things were then thought and said, which we now hear repeated,—and perhaps something more. Here as elsewhere, it is my design in the passages marked in half-quotation, not only to do justice to the sentiments of the author, but to give an exact translation of all the terms which are particularly important to the leading sentiments of the passage, or to the chief question I have in view. The passage from which I first draw is found in his work on prayer, where he is answering the old objection from decrees—an objection which every caviller down to the

¹ Strom. p. 526.

² Cohort. 11. p. 176.

³ For proofs, see Guer. II. p. 228 sq.

present time, supposes to be a new and sage discovery of his own. This objection, Origen states in all its strength, and in a variety of forms. The following is one of these forms. "Any particular individual is either one of those who were elected before the foundation of the world, and who cannot possibly fall from this election, and therefore he need not pray; or he was not elected nor predestinated, and he prays in vain; and should he pray a thousand times, he would not be heard."—"For the solution of objections which thus go to paralyse prayer, I think the following things may profitably be premised." He then goes on to speak of the different kinds of motion of which different kinds of things are susceptible, as stones, plants, and animals; and speaks of them as either moved from *without* or from *within*. 'The third kind of motion is that of animals; which is called motion *from themselves*. But the motion of *rational* beings, I think is motion *of themselves*, *δι' αὐτῶν*. But if we take away from an animal this motion *from himself*, *ἐκ' αὐτοῦ*, he can no longer be recognized as an animal, but will be either like a plant which is moved by nature only, or like a stone which is impelled by something from abroad. But if any one follows his own motion, since we may call this *being moved by himself*, it is necessarily rational. They, therefore, who will have nothing to be in our power, must necessarily admit this most foolish thing; first, that we are not living beings; and, secondly, that we are not rational. But, as if moved by some one from abroad and not moving ourselves, we may be said to do *by him*, what we think *ourselves* to do. Besides, let any one understandingly inspect the things of which himself is the subject, and see if he can shamelessly say, that he does not himself will, and he does not himself eat, and does not himself walk, nor himself assent to receive some opinions, nor discard others as false. As, then, there are some dogmas to which a man can never be induced, although ten thousand times over he artfully arranges the proofs for this purpose and employs persuasive language; so it is impossible that any one should be brought so to think of human things as though nothing were left in our power. For, who settles down in the belief, that nothing is comprehensible?—And who is there that does not blame the son that fails in filial duty? or blame and censure the adulteress as base? For the truth impels and necessitates one, in spite of a myriad of plausible things he may invent, to break forth in such cases, either in applauses

or censures, as though there were something still kept in our power as the foundation of praise and blame.'

'But if freewill is preserved to us, with its ten thousand propensities to virtue or to vice; and again, with its propensities to what is fitting or to what is improper; all this, together with other things, was necessarily known to God, before it took place, i. e. from the creation and foundation of the world just as it was to be. And in all things which God foreordains, accordingly as he foresaw respecting each act of our freewill, his decree was according to what was requisite to each movement of our freewill, and what would be meet for himself, on the part of providence, and to what was to occur according to the connexion of the things to take place; yet, not that the foreknowledge of God is the cause of all things that are to take place and that are to be produced from our freewill, according to our spontaneous action. For even on the supposition that God did not know future events, we could not, on that ground, boast that we should do these things and think these things. But this advantage on the other hand accrues from foreknowledge, viz. that each thing in our power receives an assignation in the arrangement of the universe which is beneficial to the condition of the world.'¹

It might be gratifying to go on with his argument, and see how he avails himself of these principles, in removing the objection to prayer, as above stated; but it would be rather foreign to our present purpose. Enough is already involved in these statements to show that Origen believed in the perfect freedom of man, while, at the same time, he also believed in the perfect foreknowledge and foreordination of God.

Origen, moreover, believed in our dependence on divine influence, in some sense, to aid freewill in the performance of duty. According to the translation of Rufinus, "he pronounced man's purpose alone, and by itself, to be inadequate to the consummation of good, for it is by divine aid that it is led to whatever is perfected."² But his sentiments on this point will more fully appear from the following statement, which he thus begins, in the style of a truly biblical scholar. 'In *one place* the apostle does not ascribe it to God, that a vessel is formed to honour or to dishonour, but refers the whole to us, saying, *if any one shall purify himself, he shall be a vessel sanctified unto honour, and use-*

¹ De Orat. 6. p. 432 sq.

² De Princip. III. c. 2. 2.

ful to the master, as prepared to every good work. In another place, he does not ascribe it to us, but seems to refer the whole to God, saying, *The potter hath power over the clay to make of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour.* Now the things spoken by him, are not contradictory; and we must therefore reconcile both; and derive from both one perfect sense. Neither is our liberty without the wise efficiency, *ἐπιστήμη*, of God; nor does this efficiency of God necessitate us to proceed in our course unless we also conduce somewhat to the good that is effected. Neither does freewill cause any one to be unto honour or to dishonour, without the efficiency of God, and the disposal, *κατάχρησις*, of what is according to the dignity of our freewill. Nor does the will of God *alone* form any one to honour or to dishonour, unless he have some matter of difference inclining the choice to the worse or the better.¹

But while it is thus plain, that Origen held both to freewill and to our dependence on divine influence, it is, at the same time, still more abundantly plain, that both he and Clement belonged to that class of divines who feel it incumbent on them to put forth all their strength in vindication of human freedom. Rarely does he mention dependence; and then, almost always, with some saving clause to guard against an encroachment on 'the prime glory of man.'

This extreme caution, *all on one side*, doubtless contributed to bring his orthodoxy into suspicion, and to curtail the influence and the usefulness of his writings, in subsequent ages. We may also well suppose, that, in its consequences it gave occasion, in a subsequent age, for the extreme leaning of Augustine in the opposite direction. The like extremes have been alternately producing each other, down to the present day: and especially since the time of Arminius. And this extreme propensity, in these early christian philosophers, was doubtless occasioned by their abhorrence of the stoical doctrines of fate.

Origen's opinions respecting the pre-existence of human souls, and the occasion of their being doomed to this earthly condition, have already been adduced, while considering the subject of creation.

As to *man's depravity*, Origen taught, that although the soul comes into the world, under the load, and for the punishment,

¹ De Princip. c. 1. 22.

of guilt contracted in a previous state, still it has the image of God. He however makes a distinction between the *image* and the *similitude* of God; and considers our image of God, as nothing but the image of the Word, who is the true image of God. Still he did not uniformly adhere to this distinction. He thus expresses himself, as appears by the Latin of Rufinus: "But if any one dares to attribute substantial corruption to him who was made after the image and similitude of God, he extends the cause of impiety, as I think, even to the Son of God himself. For he is called, in Scripture, the image of God. Or he who thus decides will certainly impugn the authority of Scripture, which asserts that man was made after the image of God; in whom the marks of the divine image are manifestly recognized, not in the form of the body, which form is marred, but by prudence of mind, by justice, by moderation, by fortitude, by wisdom, by skill, and finally, by the whole chorus of virtues, which, since they are in God by substance, may be in man by industry and by imitation of God; as the Lord also points out in the gospel, saying, *Be ye also merciful, as your Father is merciful*; and *Be ye perfect, as your Father is perfect*. Hence it is evidently shown, that in God all these virtues always exist; nor can they ever accede or depart; but to men, each one is acquired singly and by degrees," etc.¹

He elsewhere speaks of this image, as delineated in man at the beginning, and still preserved, although always polluted with sins.²

As to the *hisotry* of Adam, Origen thinks much of it to be an allegory, representing real facts in sensible images. "Who is such a fool," he exclaims, "as to think that God, in the manner of a husbandman, planted a garden eastward in Eden, and made in it a visible and tangible tree of life, so that life might have been acquired by tasting its fruit with bodily teeth?" etc.³

Again, he thus chastises Celsus for cavilling at the account of the creation of Eve from a rib taken from the side of Adam while asleep. "Nor does he produce the passage, which itself might make the hearer understand, that it was spoken figuratively; and he was not willing to appear to know, that such things are interpreted allegorically."⁴ He then goes on to show

¹ De Princip. IV. 37. p. 403.

² See Guer. II. p. 234.

³ Guer. 16. p. 354.

⁴ Con. Cels. IV. 38. p. 514.

that these things may as properly be interpreted allegorically, as what Hesiod has said about Pandora, etc.

A few pages further on, he takes up the following invective of the same caviller. "*The account given by Moses, says Celsus, most impiously introduces God as being feeble even from the beginning, and unable to persuade even a single man, whom he formed.*" To this says Origen, 'we shall reply, that the assertion is of similar import as if one should inveigh on the introduction of evil, which God has not been able so to prevent that even any one man has been found, from the beginning, who has not tasted of evil. And now, in like manner as in this case where those who are careful to vindicate providence, vindicate it by no few nor contemptible arguments, so likewise in respect to Adam and his sin will they philosophize, who know that in Hebrew the word *Adam* signifies *man*; and that in those things which seem to respect Adam, Moses gives a philosophical account of things belonging to the nature of man in general. *For in Adam, as the Word says, all die, and are condemned in the similitude of Adam's transgression.* Thus the divine Word speaks these things not so much concerning any one, in particular, as concerning the whole race. For in the course of the things spoken of as belonging to one, that which belonged to Adam is common to all men; and those respecting the woman, are not spoken respecting her merely. And the man, expelled from Paradise with his wife, and clothed with coats of skin, (which God made for sinning men on account of their transgression,) contains some secret and mystic import, far superior to that of the soul, which, according to Plato, shed its wings and fell down hitherward till it could find something firm to stand on."¹

Origen, in his commentary on Romans and elsewhere, informs us of this lofty and mystic import of the coats of skin, etc. He supposes Paradise to be heaven, where souls were placed at their creation, and from which they were expelled by reason of their defection, and sent into this lower world. The skins, with which our first parents were clothed, were their earthly bodies. And he supposes each one to be sent into just such a situation as the degree of his previous guilt has merited. This theory of his, which has already been more fully detailed under the topic of *Creation*, taken in its connexion with his views of freewill, was

¹ Con. Cels. IV. 40. p. 524.

his grand solvent for all the difficult questions that can be brought from those two prolific sources of trouble to the speculating world, *the origin of evil* and *the diversities of human condition* to which men are here born. He gloried greatly in this theory, as enabling him to meet such objections much better than those gnostics could, who had devised, for the same purpose, the figment of an original difference in the souls of men, as first created, which laid the foundation for their different allotments in this life.¹

From the above, it would seem, that Origen's views of *original sin*, could not be the same as those afterwards inculcated by Augustine, especially as regards its connexion with Adam. According to Origen, our souls all fell into different degrees of sin before Adam came into this life, and even before the creation of this world. But though man is thus a sinner before he is born, yet Origen supposes sin in him to be dead during infancy; and then to revive again in mature years. He also supposes man to be naturally prone to sin; and that all have in fact sinned, except the man Christ Jesus. He also speaks of a corporal necessity of sinning; by which, however, he seems only to mean a powerful propensity or temptation, arising from the appetites and passions, and especially from the passion against which he was so prompt to place a thorough guard. In these cases he supposes we may sin without any temptation from Satan. The style in which he philosophizes on this point, is much the same with what has since been employed. The desire for natural good becomes too strong for restraint by moral precepts, while reason and experience are yet immature. Among other instances which he brings he thus speaks of temperance in eating, with regard both to the kind and quantity of food which may be innocently received. His ethics here, as elsewhere, are close and discriminating. "I do not indeed think," says he, "that this could have been so observed by men, although there had been no incitement of the devil, that no one would have exceeded the proper limits in food, before they had learnt it by long use and experience." Just so of other human affections, as sorrow, anger, love of money, etc.²—Still he believed at least enough in satanic influence. As one illustration of his faith on this part of anthropology, I may here remark, that, in this same connexion, he speaks of the de-

¹ See Princip. II. c. 9. 6. sq.

² See Princip. III. c. 2. 2.

vil as taking possession of those passions and appetites, which men will not restrain, and driving the self-resigned victims to distraction, in the courses to which they give up themselves. Thus men become mad through love, grief, anger, avarice, etc. He also speaks of other causes of sin, such as example.

But notwithstanding his prevailing delight in such views as these, on the subject of human sin in this world, there are still some passages in his works, in which he holds language of apparently a different strain. Thus he assigns the sinfulness of infants as the reason for their being baptized, under the new dispensation, and of sacrifices being offered for them, under the old. The following is one instance. "But the prophets, designing to indicate something wise respecting matters of generation, say that sacrifice is offered for sin, even for those just born, as not being free from sin. They even say, *I was conceived in sin*, etc. and they also show, that sinners are alienated from their birth; strangely affirming this, too, that *they went astray from the womb, they spoke lies*."¹ Were it not for the passages of Scripture here adduced, we might suppose Origen to have in his mind the sins committed in their former state. As it is, perhaps he would explain himself as referring, in some measure, to the sinfulness of character they there contracted. But how he would show the consistency of what he here intimates, with his notion, 'that innate sinfulness is dormant in infancy,' it is at least difficult, if not impossible, to imagine.

Again, in commenting on Romans, he speaks of the 'double sense to be given to the phrase, *body of sin*. According to one of these senses, the body consists of our lusts, of which fornication, avarice, etc., are members, and the devil is the head. The other sense is the literal one, in which the apostle may be understood to have pronounced our very body a *body of sin*, which is to be received according to the import in which David said of himself, *I was conceived in sin*, etc. The apostle, likewise, in other places says, *Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* And again, he calls our body a *body of weakness*. But concerning the Saviour, he says, in a certain place, that he came in the likeness of sinful flesh, that for sin he might condemn sin in the flesh. In this the apostle shows, that our flesh is, indeed, the flesh of sin; but the flesh of Christ is only like the

¹ Con. Cels. VII. 50. p. 362.

flesh of sin ; for it was not conceived from the seed of man, but *the Holy Spirit came upon Mary, and the power of the Highest overshadowed her*, etc.—The body of sin is, therefore, *our body*. Neither is Adam described as having known his wife Eve and begotten Cain, until after sin. And finally, in the law it is commanded, that a sacrifice be offered for an infant who should be born, *a pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons* ; one of them as an offering for sin, and the other as a burnt offering. For what sin is this young bird offered ? Can the child just born, have sinned ? And yet it *has sin*, for which a sacrifice is commanded to be offered, and by which it is denied that any one is clean, no not even if his life be that of but a single day. Concerning this, therefore, even David is believed to have said what we have above related, *in sins did my mother conceive me*. For, according to history, no sin of his mother is mentioned. On this account, too, the church has received a tradition, to give baptism even to little children, *parvulis*. For they, to whom the secrets of the divine mysteries were committed, knew that there is, in all, the natural filth of sin, which needs to be washed away by water and the Spirit ; on account of which filth, even the body itself is called a body of sin ; not, as is supposed by some of those who introduce the transmigration of souls into various bodies, for the offences which the soul committed in some other body, but for the very thing that is effected in the body of sin and body of death and weakness.¹

As his commentary on Romans is extant only in the Latin translation by Rufinus, the above passage is doubtless more diffuse than the original ; yet we need not doubt its substantial authenticity, especially as the same sentiments are elsewhere found in the writings of Origen.

In commenting on the phrase, *let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies*, he says that this passage teaches us that “sin has a kind of seat and kingdom in the body.” And a little farther on, he says that “the apostle pronounces all sins to be works of the flesh.—But if you inquire how even *heresies* are numbered among the works of the flesh, you will find them to proceed from the sense of the flesh ; for thus the apostle speaks concerning a certain one, *in vain puffed up by the sense of his flesh, and not holding the head*.”²

¹ Com. in Rom. L. V. 9. p. 263 sq.

² Com. in Rom. L. VI. 1. p. 274.

From his last remark, it is obvious, that Origen, kind as he was to the heretics, had still the same view of the 'source of the disease,' as that already quoted from his predecessor, i. e. the sinful propensities of men.

It may now be well, again to turn the tablet, and read awhile on the other side, lest a false impression be left of the prevailing views of the great metaphysician, on the nature and origin of human sin. And as the assertion has already been made, that he considered sin as dormant, during our infancy, we will look at a passage which will authenticate this assertion, in connexion with other matters to our present purpose.

Commenting on Romans, he comes to the following declarations of the apostle: "*For without the law, sin is dead. Yea I was alive without the law once. But when the commandment came, sin revived and I died,* etc. Concerning most of these things," continues Origen, "I have distinctly treated above; therefore, that we may not too frequently revolve the same things, we will briefly recall to memory what was said. Sin then without law, is dead in us, i. e. before the rational capacity through age becomes vigorous within us, as I showed when I adduced the example of a boy striking or reproaching his father or mother. In this, according to the law which forbids one to strike his father or mother, sin appears to be committed. But this sin is said to be dead, because the law is not yet present in the boy, to teach him, that what he does is not lawful. But now it is certain, that Paul, and that all men, were once alive without this law, i. e. in their puerile age; because all, through this period, are alike incapable of this natural law. For how can Paul be proved ever to have lived without the law of Moses, since he confesses himself to have been a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and circumcised the eighth day, according to the precepts of the law? But, in the manner I have mentioned, even he lived once, viz. in childhood, without natural law. At which time he does not say, there is no sin in man; but that sin is dead and afterwards revives, when natural law coming begins to prohibit concupiscence: which law revives sin, as though it were dead. For this is the nature of sin, viz. for that to take place, which law forbids to take place."

"*But sin reviving, I died,* says the apostle. *I, Who?* Doubtless the *soul*, which had done what the law forbade. For the prophet says, *the soul that sinneth it shall die*. The command, therefore, which had been given unto life, i. e. to the soul

to teach it the works of life, is found to yield death unto it, since the soul does not so much fly from the prohibited objects, as the more ardently seek them."

"Here I am led to the question, How he should speak of sin as having been dead and reviving again. For it is plain, that a thing cannot be pronounced dead, unless it has once been alive and afterwards ceased to live. And likewise this very affirmation, *it revived*, indicates, not a life lately given, but *the former one restored*; for the word *revived* signifies *to live again*." Origen then refutes 'the notion of transmigration, from the consideration, that our souls could not have committed sin, while inhabiting the bodies of beasts, birds and fishes, where they could have known no law, and could therefore have been guilty of no transgression.' And then he adds: "But we say, that this death of sin was given, by the favour of God, at the time when we were living without law;" i. e. in infancy, when we were incapable of knowing law.—"That is called law, which teaches what ought to be done, and what to be avoided, and it is necessary that it teach what sort of a thing that is which is to be avoided, that it may thereby be more easily avoided. For no one can avoid that of which he is ignorant." This principle, Origen seems to have introduced here for the purpose of substantiating the position just assumed, that there can be no sin where there is not a law *actually understood*; and also for the further purpose of showing, that sin is not to be charged on the law, nor consequently on the Lawgiver. The first object is manifest from what he had just said about the dormancy of sin in children; and the last is equally manifest from the sentence with which he follows his remark, which is this: "If any one, therefore, when informed, by the law, of what he ought to avoid, instead of avoiding, does the thing, he will appear indeed to have received, by occasion of the law, the knowledge of not doing the thing: but the law had not therefore taught him in order that he should do what he ought not, and die; but that he should not do, and live. *Thus, then, sin, taking occasion by the commandment, seduced me, and by it slew me.*"¹ And it may be remarked, that sin, here, according to Origen, may mean the serpent; or it may mean sin personified.

Thus we see how the great catechist of the third century, "reasoned high" on the mysteries of man. In many things, his positions and his reasoning were just the same as have since been

¹ Com. in Rom. Lib. VI. 8. p. 301 sq.

employed by some men in every age down to the present, especially in respect to human freedom, and the nature of sin. At the same time, we see in him what now appears the perfection of extravagance in a man who not only had the Bible, but who manifestly studied it with an intensity and perseverance and acuteness, that have rarely been equalled. Honesty will also compel the acknowledgment, from the attentive reader of his pages, that his reverence for inspiration, was as profound as his learning; nor can we suspect him of a wilful or a negligent perversion. And while he is full of philosophical theory, he seems always equally intent on proving the truth of his speculations by the Scripture, and of justifying, by these same theories, the ways of God to men. Yes; and even in his wildest notions, the man who will patiently listen to his whole argument, will hardly know which most to wonder at, the strangeness of his hypothesis, or the number of texts he will plausibly adduce in its proof, and which, in turn, he will as plausibly explain by it.—And, then, as to the perspicuity and reach of his intellect in the weaving of theories, perhaps the whole world may be safely challenged to produce, aside from *revelation*, an equally sublime and consistent system on the origin and progress of sinful beings under a righteous and omniscient Providence. Give him his supposed *facts* respecting the antemundane state of souls, and all is much clearer, in the eye of such philosophy as will admit no mystery, than much of what is even now cherished, in divers christian systems respecting man.—A most prolific source of error, with this and others of the early fathers, was that of being literal where they should be figurative, and figurative where they should be literal, in their interpretations of Scripture. And in many cases, we can now only conjecture whether their philosophy misguided their interpretation, or their interpretation bewildered their philosophy.—Thanks to God for the rock of inspiration! It still remains the same. And thanks to him for the more chastened circumspection, with which the tedious discussions of centuries have compelled philosophy, in many respects, to decipher the deeper mysteries engraven upon this eternal rock. While simple faith has always read its chief import right, and always will, profounder investigation will find increasing occasion, as it reads and thinks, to rejoice that the *Origens*, are among the men that *have* been. His good thoughts, which were many, have done good ever since he wrote them, and will do good forever; and his vain thoughts, however great the evil

they have occasioned, are not in vain to the progress of the human mind. They have filled, and, by filling, they now guard a large space in the field of possible conjecture, from the excursions of curious and aspiring minds. *Actum est.* The effect of reading his works, is a more exalted and grateful estimate of the truths of revelation, leaving all mysteries, in the study of man, just where the Maker of man has thus seen fit to leave them.

As to the charge of self-contradiction in the writings of Origen, perhaps the shortest way for his admirers will be to admit it, on some points, particularly that of the moral state of infants; and then to bring the like charge against every unflinching philosopher who has written even half as much, on themes so intricate. And if their defenders bring explanations, the friends of Origen may then urge, that his 'dead sin in the bodies of infants, though not a transgression of law, nor deserving of punishment,' is still such as to lay the foundation for baptism in their case. The explanations may chance to be equally plausible,—and equally beyond the boundaries of human reason.

It would be interesting to trace the extent to which the more immediate successors of Origen, followed him in his peculiar speculations on anthropology; but our means are scanty. Such as they are, however, we now proceed with them.

Dionysius, A. D. 233—267. It is plain that this father held to man's freedom, while he also believed God to be the efficient cause of whatever is good in man. Thus he speaks, as quoted by Guerike: "For the one fountain of wisdom, is God—who is the one originating cause and giver of wisdom; and if any one partakes of it, he has it as receiving it from him;—and in his hand are we also, and our reason and intelligence and practical skill; for from no other source came there ever into us any thing good or admirable; but if there is any thing good, it is of him; and any thing beautiful, it is from him."¹—He did not, like Origen, consider the history of Adam an allegory.²

Pierius, A. D. 265—282. This teacher seems "faintly to have intimated the pre-existence of souls, according to the notions of Origen."³

¹ E Niceta apud Routh. Reliqu. Sacr. II. 406 sq. Guer. II. 309.

² Routh. ib. p. 395. sq.

³ Guer. II. p. 325.

Peter Martyr, A. D. 295—312. His first discourse on the soul, is entitled, "On the soul as having not previously existed, nor being placed in the body in a sinning state." In this discourse, he says: "It is not to be admitted, that souls sinned in heaven, before they had bodies; nor that they existed at all before their bodies; for this doctrine belongs to Grecian philosophy, and is foreign and adverse to those who would live godly in Christ."¹

Didymus, A. D. 340—395. From this distinguished follower of Origen, we may well expect something more on this subject than we have found from the intermediate teachers.

Didymus treats largely of the three-fold nature of man, as consisting of spirit, soul, and body, like his distinguished predecessors of early date. It will be needless to cite passages, as the general view of this theory has already been given.

In respect to the *body*, it may be briefly remarked, that he did not regard it as evil by nature. His argument is this: "If God is glorified in the body of man, as set forth in 1 Cor. 6:20, and God is not glorified in evil, then the body is not by nature evil." And further: "If it is by nature evil, it cannot receive sanctification. If, then, it receives sanctification, it manifestly cannot be evil by nature. For whatever is by nature evil, cannot receive good; as on the other hand, what is by nature good, cannot receive evil."²

Guerike remarks, that a few vestiges of the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls are to be found in this author. He considered the souls of the elect to be spoken of by Peter, in the commencement of his first epistle, as sojourning here below, in the character of strangers upon earth, and who had come from another world.³

On *freewill*, he speaks in decisive tones, and wholly in its favour. Still he regards man, in his present condition, as in a diseased state. "The soul suffers in consequence of its connexion with the body and its own proper will and choice and appetite for knowledge. For since the body holds it shut up within itself in blind custody, by material passions it draws away the soul from consort with God, and inclines it, as I believe, down-

¹ Routh. p. 346, sq. Guer. II. p. 327.

² Contr. Manich. p. 207. sq. Guer. II. p. 360.

³ Guer. II. p. 361.

ward to earth and earthly solitudes ; and thus it strives to rule the soul, which, by nature, is more noble, and as much more noble, as that which is immortal is more excellent than that which is mortal. Moreover, the desire of gratifying its own will, and of acquiring knowledge, draws it thither, and to that it tends, as it wishes to know certain things ; and since it has not a correct and safe guide for the way, or uses the custom of depraved men, the soul loses its way and hesitates in doubt, and at length inconsiderately embraces some opinion to which it may chance to be borne, and thus it is most miserable, because while seeking for good knowledge, and thinking itself to have found it, the soul falls into base opinions and is depraved.”¹ “Hence,” he remarks in another place, “it is not wonderful, if men do otherwise than he wishes from whom they have received their power.”²

It was also his view, that a creature cannot either be impeccable, or of himself put away his sins. “Original sin is inherent in us ; that sin in which all are by succession from Adam.” “We are all born in sin.” He held to the fall from a state of pristine holiness ; and understood the history of Adam literally. “The first image was lost,” and that which we now bear, is far different from that of primitive beauty. Through Christ “we recover the delineated image and likeness of God, which we received by the divine inflation, and lost by sin ; and we are again found such as we were made at the first formation, without sin, and possessing freedom of will.” Nor did he suppose little children to sin ; “but they are prevented by their age, not by virtue.” He did not suppose sin to be *natural*, nor did he understand Paul so to teach, in Eph. 2 : 3, where he supposes the apostle to mean by *ψόξα*, *truly*. Nor did he regard our wills as evil substances ; nor Judas to be, in this sense, evil. Didymus, therefore, thought that there was a continued series of sinful acts, proceeding from the fall of Adam onward, but denied the wickedness of man to be natural, or rather *physical*.

Such is the sketch which Guerike presents, and for which he cites authorities.³ It should be borne in mind, that much of what Didymus says against the doctrine that sin is by nature, appears

¹ De Trin. III. 1.

² Enarr. in I Pet. 2 : 12.

³ Guer. II, p. 363 sq.

to be said against the Manichaeans, who doubtless held to *physical depravity*, if any beings ever held to it.

This closes our summary view of these ancient doctors, on *the nature of man*. It is needless to add, that the same discussions which are still so rife on this prolific subject, resounded in the halls of that primitive seat of clerical science, for more than two centuries;—and nearly in the same style, at least on one side of the great subject. The inference to be drawn from this historical fact, if inference there be in favour of either side of the main question, belongs rather to the province of the reader, than to the scope of my present design.

There are, however, two queries, which, it may be hoped, will not be thought out of place, if here proposed for the consideration of those more particularly interested in the past history and present state of dogmatic discussion. The first question respects the progress that has actually been made in this important but most belligerous department. How far has the arena been narrowed? and what are the points that have been actually settled? Doubtless there are some: The vagaries of Origen respecting the pre-existence of souls and some connected topics, though they found advocates in this same school till its close, a period of nearly two hundred years, have long ago been abandoned. An immense number of texts in the Bible, which were once of contested interpretation, have also been settled, in the view of disputants, at least so far as anthropology is concerned. We are, therefore, with gratitude, to acknowledge a real advance. But how *great* is this advance, and how “much land yet remains to be possessed” in peace? and what *proportion* of the boundaries of truth on this subject, have yet been agreed upon? Is it one half? or only the one thousandth part of what have generally constituted the chief matters of contest? And, furthermore, (a very important part of the inquiry surely,) what advance has been made in settling the *preliminaries* that are requisite to a final and complete adjustment of what remains in controversy?—such preliminaries, for example, as the canons of sacred interpretation,—the legitimate style of philosophizing on moral subjects,¹—the relative weight to be given to Scripture and to mere philosophy,—and the order of precedence in which these shall be studied by the men who are to be guides to this adjustment.

¹ Is the truly *inductive* method yet fully agreed upon here?

When the above question is well pondered, there remains yet a second, viz. When may this desired adjustment be rationally expected to take place? Considering what has already been done, and at what expense of time and labour, and in how long a course of years, how much longer will it take? and when may the loftiest minds in the church be all free for other work? Let this be deemed neither an idle nor a carping question. Unless I greatly mistake, it is one of the most important and most practical that the page of history has to suggest, in respect to the future. Let it be thoroughly considered and soundly answered, and how can it then fail greatly to modify the style of discussion, and the style of feeling, on this whole subject? And if rational prospect be better than blind presumption, how can this modification fail of being beneficial? While rational expectations will not paralyse the muscle of proper effort, who can tell the amount of self-confidence, and contempt, and reviling, and denunciation, and violence, and final disappointment, that such chastened expectations would prevent, on both sides? And who can tell how much they would conspire to hasten, instead of retarding, the consummation so devoutly to be wished?

But in order to answer the question, something more will be needed than the survey of that little though important nook in this part of dogmatic history which we have just inspected. Not only are the long and laborious lives of such men as Clement, and Origen, and Didymus, to be considered; but the whole tide of life, down to the present day, which has flowed in the same agitating channel, is to be explored. There are the voluminous toils of Augustine and his immediate followers and opponents, to be inspected. There are the endless and ineffable subtleties of the acute schoolmen, who confidently assayed to settle forever the points that are still up. Then come the great Reformers, for half a century; then the popes, with their *Congregation of aids*; then Armenius with his friends and his foes; and finally our own Edwards, "that king of the Calvinists," with all who have followed and all who have opposed him. To all these, should be added all the unconsecrated hands that have been put to the work, both heathen and christian, from Plato and Aristotle to Locke, and from Locke to Brown.—When, then, the whole mighty host, with all their achievements, are surveyed, shall we say, or can we even hope, that all which remains unsettled in the views of men, on this subject, is to be adjusted by a single writer, or in a single age? Or shall we on the contrary

expect that the discussion will go on, somewhat as it has done for two thousand years, with some improvement in matter, and more in manner, till the dispute shall imperceptibly subside; or till God may see fit to raise up a mighty genius for the work, who shall not aim at present effect, or personal or party triumph, but like a first-rate poet who scorns all contests with the men that be, shall devote his life to the high purpose of illuminating and swaying the world in a coming age?—But I am well aware, that it may be found much easier to tell what will *not* be, for the present, than to conjecture what *will* be at some future day; and this too, is probably much more beneficial, for all concerned, in the present case.

VII. THE FUTURE STATE OF MAN.

We turn, now, to a connected subject, and inquire for the views of these same fathers respecting the allotments of Providence concerning man in the eternal world.

Athenagoras, A. D. 160—181. The following, according to *Guerike*,¹ is the substance of what *Athenagoras* maintained, solely from human reason, in his book *on the Resurrection*. In the future resurrection, the elements of the first body will receive again the same soul; a body indeed, not liable to pain nor corruption. To prove this he most sagaciously shows, in the first place, that God is destitute of neither the efficiency nor the will to resuscitate the body. The *efficiency*, including both the requisite power and the knowledge, he proves from the work of creation; and defends his position against objections brought by gentile philosophers, from the fact, that some human bodies have been devoured by beasts or by men, etc. The *will* he proves from this consideration, that it will neither be unjust, to recall the dead to life, either to those who rise, in respect to body or soul, or to other creatures besides them; nor will it be unworthy of God: which last point, he proves from creation, as it will be worthy of him who made us at first, to resuscitate us again. He then gives the grounds of his position. First; it is the end of man; which is seen in this, that he is the perpetual spectator of the divine wisdom. Secondly; the common nature and condition of men, to which a perpetual life is needful in

¹ *Guer.* II. p. 104.

order to the attainment of the object of rational life. Thirdly; the judgment of the Creator concerning men, is necessary both on account of the providence and the justice of God; and as it is the whole man that acts, both soul and body, so the whole man should be subjected to the judgment. And finally; the supreme good of man, or his final end, which is not found in this life.

From such positions as these, we are left to infer his views concerning man's future state, in a variety of respects, which it is needless to detail.

Clement, A. D. 190—213. In a fragment from the lost book of Clement on the soul, he says: "The souls of all, as they are breathed forth, have the faculty of life; and, though separated from the body, they are found to possess a love for it. The immortal are wafted to the bosom of God; as the vapours of the earth, exhaled by the rays of the sun in winter, are borne to him."¹

From this, it appears, that he believed in the separate existence of souls, after death. And from what is to follow, it will but too plainly appear, that in this separate state, he supposed them to pass through a kind of purgatory. His doctrine was doubtless derived from heathen philosophy; but his argument is, that the philosophers derived this, like many other doctrines, from the Jews, and so from revelation itself. Thus he speaks concerning "the Ephesian," (doubtless Heraclitus,) from whom he had just quoted a passage; "for he himself knew (having learnt it from the barbarous philosophy) the purification, by fire, of those who had lived wickedly, which the Stoics afterwards called *a burning out*, *ἐκπύρωσις*."² And further on, he says: "Now the punishments and vengeance by fire after death, both all the poets and all the Grecian philosophers stole from the barbarous philosophy,"³ i. e. from the Jewish,

¹ Potter, p. 1020. Guer. II. p. 161.

² Strom. V. 1. p. 16.

³ Strom. 14. p. 116. In fact, the latter part of this fifth book, is almost wholly occupied with quotations from heathen poets and a few other heathen writers, for the purpose of showing what they had derived from the Old Testament and had adopted, with greater or less alterations. In this exhibition of his great acquaintance with heathen literature he also shows his fanciful interpretation of many passages of Scripture, and his credulity in trusting to very slight analo-

which the Greeks scornfully denominated *barbarous*, as indeed they did all that was not Grecian.

These fathers, holding as they did, that heathen philosophy derived its doctrines of the future state from the Jews, were, of course, much more willing to adopt them nearly as a whole, than they would otherwise have been. Hence the readiness to retain the heathen purgatory.

But to proceed with our author. After saying that it is not simply faith, however great, that will save us, but that it must be accompanied by works ; and that it is needful for one to put off his vices, if he would attain his appropriate abode ; Clement says : " But it is greater *to know* than *to believe* ; just as it is something greater than salvation, for one, after he is saved, to be counted worthy of the highest honour. When, therefore, our believer through much discipline has put off his passions, he takes his exit to the greatest chastisement, which is superior to his former abode, to bear what is peculiar to penitence, *τὸ ἰδίωμα μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα*, for sins committed after baptism. He, therefore, still suffers more, while he has not yet attained, or may never attain, what he sees others enjoying. Moreover, he is afflicted with shame for his faults ; which indeed are the greatest punishments to the believer. For God's justice is good, and his goodness is just. And if the punishments should at any time cease in the complete satisfaction for offences, and the purification of each individual, they still have the greatest grief remaining, because they are found worthy of a different mansion, and cannot enter that of those who are glorified by righteousness."¹

This passage might suffice to give us some general outline of the views of Clement respecting a future purgatory for the punishment and purification of sins committed *after baptism*.

gies. It, however, abundantly shows his strong faith in the general position he supports, and forbids us to wonder how he came so readily to place confidence in the speculations of heathenism. In conclusion, he says : " Since it is now clearly shown, as I think, how it is to be understood that the Greeks were called thieves, by the Lord, I willingly pass by the dogmas of the philosophers ; for were we to enter upon their sayings, we should soon collect a sufficient multitude of their commentaries to show, that all the wisdom among the Greeks was derived from the barbarous philosophy."—Strom. near the end, p. 172.

¹ Strom. VI. 14. p. 302 sq.

Those committed before, he supposed to be freely pardoned. But if we would gain any thing like adequate views of the speculations of this philosopher, respecting the future state, we must listen to further and more extended extracts.

In another place he thus begins a further development of his system. "But we say, that knowledge differs from wisdom, which comes by teaching; for though whatever is knowledge, *γνῶσις*, is at the same time, in all respects, wisdom, *σοφία*; yet whatever is wisdom, is not, in all respects, knowledge. For the term *wisdom* is understood only of such knowledge as is communicated by language; while not to doubt concerning God, but to believe, is the foundation of knowledge. Now Christ is both the foundation and the superstructure; by whom are also the beginning and the end. And the extremes, both the beginning and the end, are not *taught*; I mean faith and love. But knowledge which is given in direct communication by the grace of God, *ἐκ παραδόσεως διαδομένη κατὰ χάριν θεοῦ*, is committed as a deposit to those who show themselves worthy of instruction, from which the worthiness, *ἀξίωμα*, of love, shines forth, from light to light. For it is said, *To him that hath shall be given.* And to faith, knowledge; and to knowledge, love; and to love, the inheritance. And this takes place, when the individual adhesively depends on the Lord through faith, and through knowledge, and through love, and ascends with him up where dwells the God and guardian of our faith and love. Hence to this end, knowledge is communicated to those who are fitted for it and approved, on account of the need of more preparation and previous practice, and for hearing the things which are spoken, and to the moderation of life, and for attaining, by close observation, to something superior to righteousness by law. This knowledge leads us to an eternal and perfect object, teaching us, beforehand, what will be our way of living among gods and near God, when freed from all chastisement and punishment which we endure from our sins for salutary discipline. After which redemption, the reward and honours, are conferred on the perfected, who have now rested from their purification and from all other service, although it be holy and among the holy. After that, there awaits those who have become pure in heart, by their nearness to the Lord, a restoration to the eternal vision; and they are called by the

appellation of *gods*, and are to be enthroned together with those gods who before received their assignments from the Saviour.”¹

In another place, he speaks of his Gnostic, (who is a very different sort of a personage from an *heretical* Gnostic,) as, in the exuberance of his disinterested affection, “pitying those who are chastised after death, and who are induced, by punishment, reluctantly to yield assent.”²

The following extract will further develop the views he had formed of the modified heathenism, with which he and others were instrumental in corrupting the church. To understand it more fully, it should be remembered, that he supposed Christ and the apostles to have descended to this purgatory to *preach to the spirits in prison* there, and to baptize them. He also supposed that something more was requisite for Jews, than obedience to the law; and something more for Gentiles than obedience to the dictates of philosophy. “For, to those who were just according to the law, faith was wanting; therefore, when healing such, the Lord said, *thy faith hath saved thee*. But to those who were just according to philosophy, not only was faith in Christ needed, but also an abandonment of idolatry. But immediately, when the truth is revealed to them, they also are filled with regret for what they have done. On this account the Lord preached the gospel also to those in *hades*; for the scripture declares, *Hades saith to destruction, We have not indeed seen his form, but we have heard his voice*. Certainly it was not the place that heard the voice and uttered the words just mentioned, but they who are placed in *hades* and who consigned themselves to destruction, like such as voluntarily plunge into the sea from a vessel. They are therefore the persons who listen to the divine power and voice. For who of sound mind, can suppose the souls both of the just and of sinners to be under one condemnation, and thus overwhelm providence with injustice? What! is it not clear, that Christ preached the gospel to those who were destroyed by the flood; or rather, that were bound and held in prison and custody? I have also already shown, in the second Stroma, that the apostles in conformity to the Lord, preached the gospel to those in *hades*. For it was fit, as I think, there as well as here, that the best of the disciples should be imitators of their master, that while the one led some of the Jews, the others should lead some of the Gentiles to repentance, i. e.

¹ Strom. VII. 10. p. 458 sq.

² ib. 12. p. 492.

those who had indeed lived in righteousness according to the law and according to philosophy ; yet who had passed life, not perfectly but erringly. For it became the divine economy, that those who had rather possessed merit in justice, and those whose lives had been signally commendable, and who repented of their errors, although in another place, being confessedly among those who belong to God the Omnipotent, should be saved according to each one's own knowledge. And the Saviour works, also, as I think, since his work is to save ; which he therefore does by drawing to salvation those who are willing to believe on him, through preaching, wherever they may be. If, then, the Lord descended to *hades* for no other cause but to preach the gospel, since he descended, he either preached to all, or to the Hebrews only. And if to all, then all will be saved who believed, although they may belong to the Gentiles, having there confessed him. For the chastisements of God are salutary and instructive, leading to conversion, and having for their object, rather the repentance than the death of the sinner ; and this especially, since souls disencumbered of the body, can see the more clearly, by no longer having their vision obscured by contemptible flesh, though still darkened by passions. But if he preached the gospel to Jews only, to whom were wanting the acknowledgement and faith through the Saviour, there being now clearly no respect of persons with God, the apostles also, there as here, preached the gospel to such of the Gentiles as were predisposed, *ἐπιτηδεύουσι*, to conversion. And it is well said by the Shepherd [of Hermas] : *There descended of them therefore into the water ; but these descended alive, and arose alive ; but those who had before slept, descended dead, but arose alive.* Nay, indeed, the gospel also says, that *many of the bodies of those who slept, arose* ; plainly, in order that they might be translated to a better place. There was, therefore, a kind of general movement and transposition, by the economy of the Saviour."¹ The meaning of Clement here, doubtless is, that those who arose at this time, were such as repented at the preaching of Christ, and consequently obtained an *immediate* release ; and this event of the resurrection of some, he regards as a proof of his purgatory. This, it may be remarked, is a little different sort of dream from that of Bishop Horsley, who supposes Christ went to *hades* to reanimate the desponding

¹ Strom. VI. 6. p. 226 sq.

hopes of the ancient saints there, by showing them that he had at length come in the flesh, and that they need not despair of a final deliverance.¹

Clement goes on to argue further, from the justice of God, that as the apostles were commanded to preach the gospel to every creature on earth, in order that those may be without excuse who will not believe, so the gospel must also be preached to those who have died without hearing it, that they likewise may be without excuse, if they will not obey. And this is the way, as he thinks, in which God is to be shown to be good.

The following will cast light on his views of the termination of this state of things; while we shall also incidentally see from them, the mistake of those who assert, that all the election to which the fathers held, before the time of Augustine, was only an "election into the visible church."² Speaking of the importance of being beneficent to the pious, in order to enjoy their prayers, (in his treatise on the question, *What rich man can be saved*.) Clement says: "Now they are faithful, virtuous, devout, and worthy of the appellation which they wear as a diadem. Not only so, but they are the certain elect in the higher sense, τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, [an election from those elected to external privileges,] and so much the more, as they are the less conspicuous, just bringing themselves into port from the billows of the world, and getting into safety; who do not wish to appear as saints; and if any one call them such, they are covered with shame; in the depth of knowledge hiding the ineffable mysteries, and disdaining that their high birth should be seen by the world; whom the Word calls, *the light of the world and the salt of the earth*. This is the seed, the image and likeness of God, his genuine son and heir, sent here, as into a strange land, by the great economy and fit allotment of the Father, by whom both the visible and the invisible things of the world were made. Some of these things were made for their service; and some for their discipline; and some for their instruction: and all are held together while the seed shall remain here; but when that is gathered, they shall be immediately dissolved."³

¹ See his sermon on Christ's descent into hell, where he attempts to explain and defend the article of "the Church" on the subject.

² See Faber, Vol. I. p. 15, of his dedication.

³ *Quis Dives Salv.* 36. p. 656 sq.

That is, the world will be burnt up as soon as it has answered the divine purposes respecting the elect, and they are gathered in.

Again, in another work, he says : “ It is necessary that births and deaths should take place, in creation, until the perfect separation and restoration of the elect ; by which the beings, confusedly mingled in this world, shall be assigned to their appropriate stations.”¹

When the world shall be thus dissolved, it would seem that his purgatory must end, and all receive their final allotments for eternity ; for he doubtless, as did Bishop Horsley after him, considered this purgatory to be down in the earth.

Clement held to a resurrection of the body, and wrote a book on the subject, which is now lost. The body, however, to which the soul is to be united after its resurrection, is to be a spiritual body, purified, by the last conflagration, from all the grosser attributes it now possesses, and prepared for a heaven where there is neither male nor female, and they neither marry nor are given in marriage.²

One or two passages more will show the views of Clement in respect to the exaltation and endless progress that await the elect in heaven.

After affirming, that ‘ the system of salvation has always been the same by one God through the Lord, from the foundation of the world, though under different modes ;’ he thus proceeds : “ Therefore the middle wall of partition, that divided the Greek from the Jew, is taken away for the peculiar people ; and thus both come to the unity of faith ; and from both, there is the one election, as he saith, there are those more elect than the elect, [elect in the higher sense,] who, according to perfect knowledge, have been selected from the church itself, *τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῆς ἀπηριθισμένοι*, and honoured with the most magnificent glory, both as judges and administrators, the four and twenty, [referring to the passage in Revelation, of which he had just before spoken,] equally from Jews and Greeks, the grace being doubled. For in the church here, the gradations of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are imitations, as I think, of angelic glory, and of that economy which the Scriptures declare to await those who,

¹ Strom. VI. 9. p. 448.

² See Strom. VII. 12. II. 19. Paed. I. 4, 6. I. 10. III. 1.

in the track of the apostles, have lived in perfection according to the gospel. These, exalted to the clouds, writes the apostle, are first to serve as deacons; then, to be ranked among the elders, according to the gradation of glory, (for glory differs from glory,) until they increase to the *perfect man*. Those who are such, according to David, shall rest in the holy mount of God, the supreme church, in which are gathered the philosophers of God, *who are Israelites indeed, pure in heart, in whom is no guile.*¹

Our author affords us some further information on this high subject in another work. "They who pass from the state of men to that of angels, are instructed under the tuition of angels, a thousand years, having returned finally back to perfection. Then, those who have taken upon themselves the office of teaching, pass into the arch-angelic power. They who have performed the part of learners, receive, in turn, such as are passing from men to angels. Thus, after certain periods already mentioned, they are assigned to the proper and angelic state of body."²

Before dismissing this particular topic, it may be of use to dwell a moment longer on one point which has been incidentally noticed in the course of the above extracts. I refer to the question of *particular election*. Faber, whose assertion has already been mentioned, is not the only man who has undertaken to deny the existence of such a doctrine among the christian fathers before the time of Augustine. On the contrary, the rash assertion having once been made, it is now reiterated loudly from mouth to mouth by such as wish to disprove the doctrine. They would have the world believe that Augustine was the first to teach the doctrine of *personal* and eternal election by God, of those whom he savingly calls into his kingdom. I feel warranted in calling the assertion *rash*, for two reasons. In the first place, it can be but little short of rashness to assert positively concerning *any* religious doctrine, that it is nowhere to be found among the ponderous mass of truth and error contained in the tomes of the fathers of the first four centuries. But, secondly, unless I greatly mistake, this doctrine of the election of individuals is distinctly recognized in several of the

¹ Strom. VI. 13, 14. p. 300.

² Proph. Eclog. 57. as given by Guer. II. p. 164 sq.

passages above quoted. If so, we have then the positive authority of one of the earliest and greatest of the fathers, in support of its primitive reception in the church. When pressed by his adversaries for human authority in support of his doctrine, Augustine, according to Faber,¹ did not plead that much of it was to be found in the preceding fathers; but he urged as a reason of this, that the doctrine, instead of having never been held, had never been disputed. In exact accordance with this position of Augustine, are the above notices from the pen of Clement. In none of them does he speak of the doctrine as though it were a matter of dispute, but just as he would speak of a tenet of general belief.

It would be too much aside from my present business to consider whether other ancient fathers held to the same doctrine. Augustine refers to one or two, though of later date than Clement. Nor can I stay minutely to examine these passages above quoted, as the object of this essay is not controversial. But what construction can be put upon them that does not imply 'an election of individuals to salvation according to the foreknowledge of God,' I am unable to perceive. Clement very clearly held to a *general* election to the privileges of the gospel; and he seems, at the same time, just as plainly to have held to a more restricted and *personal* election to eternal life—an election within an election; the spiritual, in distinction from the visible and nominal Israel.—If, then, such be admitted as the fact, it will remain for the opponents of Augustine no longer to claim the unbroken authority of the early fathers, (whatever it may be worth,) but to produce, if possible, a single passage in which they *deny* the doctrine. I will not say that this cannot be done; but I have seen no such passage. It would, indeed, be easy to refer to many passages even in these Alexandrian writers, in which they totally discard the doctrine of such a fatal necessity as some think to be implied in personal election. But a discarding of the doctrine of fate, no more implies a rejection of the doctrine of predestination by the ancients, than by moderns.

One further question needs a more decisive answer than has yet been given. Did Clement believe in the *eternal* punishment of any of our race? From the general strain of his writings on the subject of purgatory, and on the *justice of that condemnation* which awaits all who *reject the offer of salvation*,

¹ Fab. Apost. Trin. Dedication, p. 9 sq.

whether in this world or the next, we should readily infer such a belief. He very frequently implies, that some will thus reject it, both here and there.

Let us now see if there is any thing which implies that they will not continue forever to reject, and forever to suffer. The following passages are perhaps the strongest that can be adduced from his writings, in support of such a position. "But he [God] is by no means the cause of evil, for all things are arranged by the Lord of all, for the salvation of the whole, both in general and in particular. The office, therefore, of salutary justice, is to lead each one continually to the better, so far as it is practicable; for all smaller things, according to their habits, are arranged for the preservation and continuance of what is best. Thus what is virtuous changes for the better, possessing the cause of change, the choice of knowledge, which sovereign quality the soul possesses. But necessary chastisements, in the goodness of the great, all-inspecting Judge, and by attendant angels, and by diverse previous judgments, and by the final judgment, compel those having patiently suffered the longer, to repent, *τοὺς ἐνὶ πλεόν ἀπηλγηκότας ἐκβιάζονται μετανοεῖν*. But as to the remainder, I am silent, glorifying God."¹

It is not very easy to decide on the import of this singular passage, as it respects the question of universal salvation. And indeed, by the last sentence, it is manifest that the writer did not consider himself as having spoken out fully; nor was he then prepared to; but why he was not prepared, we do not learn. The following is more explicit, but perhaps less authentic. I give it as quoted by Guerike, not being able to find it in the edition of Clement's works now before me. "The Lord indeed saves all [angels and men], converting some by punishments, but others while following by their own free will, and with the dignity of honour."²

On the other hand, in a fragment of a work on the soul, quoted by Potter, Clement says, that "all souls are immortal, even those of the ungodly, for whom it were better if they were not indestructible, as they are punished by the eternal vengeance of unquenchable fire, and die not, and have no end of their torments." The authority, however, of such a fragment, may not be equal to that of passages found in his entire compositions.

¹ Strom. VII. 2. p. 394.

² Adumbr. in 1 Joh. II. 2. Guer. II. p. 165.

On the whole, we are left to say, that he has not been very explicit in the works that have come down to us, as to his belief in the eternity of future suffering. The general bearing of his language respecting the future state, is in favour of such a doctrine. Why he was not more explicit, we cannot certainly decide. Possibly he had doubts in his own mind;—or perhaps he deemed the doctrine too harsh for those whom he would allure to his instruction, and therefore he chose to be silent on the final condition of such as would never be reformed.

Origen. As to the future and eternal existence of the soul, Origen was sufficiently decided. He also held to the resurrection of the body; and to an intermediate state between death and the resurrection. Upon this intermediate state, his speculations, as we might well suppose from the cast of his mind, are numerous, and some of them sufficiently fanciful. The eleventh chapter of his second book on Principles, is devoted to this subject. From this and other portions of his works, I will endeavour to give an outline of his views. But before proceeding to them, I would just observe, that we must give him the credit of rejecting the still wilder speculations of Pythagoras and others who held to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This doctrine, he held in great abhorrence, and took frequent occasions to refute it, as appears from his most accredited works.

Immediately on leaving the body, Origen supposes the soul to assume a *figure* in a measure similar to that of the gross and earthly body; and to enter forthwith on a state of partial retribution. The saints, especially, he thinks do not at once receive their full reward, which he argues from Heb. xi. 39. The prophets and patriarchs, who lived before the time of Christ, went to the infernal regions at death, there to await the advent of the Redeemer, as their conductor to paradise; but to the truly pious since that period, is granted the privilege of an immediate admission to that place of blessedness.

But where and what is this paradise? It is a place, as Origen would have us believe, somewhere in the earth, in which the saints are gathered as in a "school of souls," and where they are taught respecting the *rationale* of all things they had before seen on earth; and where they also receive some obscure views of a still further state, to which they are to be advanced, just as in this life, they had seen, as through a glass darkly, the objects they now behold in paradise. Those who are of a pure heart, and make the most rapid progress in paradise, are soonest trans-

ferred to those aerial regions, the "many mansions," which the scriptures denominate *heavens*, but which the Greeks called *spheres*. In those heavens, as the happy spirit passes through them in succession, he learns in the first the things which are there exhibited in each; and then, the reasons of those things. Thus it is, that the soul follows Jesus who has passed into the heavens, while making its way to be with him where he is, to behold his unveiled glory, face to face.

As there will be so much to learn, Origen very naturally supposes it will occupy much time for a soul to pass through these heavens; and some will be much longer in passing, than others, according to their perspicacity and the improvement they here make in the present life.

As to the things to be learnt, in this intermediate state, Origen is somewhat particular, and gives us such a list as we might well expect from such a philosopher. The mind, burning with an ineffable desire to know the reasons of things, will first enjoy an explanation of all it beheld on earth—the natures of trees, plants, animals, men,—the reasons of all the minute dispensations of providence, even to the falling of a sparrow, no one of which is fortuitous, or without a specific design,—the precise objects of all the Levitical rites and precepts,—the state of fallen angels, the cause of moral evil and deception,—and especially the work of God in man's salvation,—the nature of the operations of the Divine Spirit on the heart, etc. In the present life, we see only the visible objects of nature, and learn the *facts* in divine providence, and gain some obscure and general views, just as the painter first sketches his rude outline. But in the next state, the picture will be filled up, and the colouring will be added.

Passing from paradise into the aerial regions, the soul will find itself among the stars; and there it will have the delight, (a great one indeed to Origen,) to learn whether those distant luminaries are in fact *animated* bodies, or what they are; why each one is placed just where it is, and is of just its actual size; how, if it had been otherwise, the whole universe would have been deranged, etc.

After having thus learnt, first the facts, and then the reasons, of all visible objects, the soul is to pass to those which are invisible, of which we now know nothing, or of which we have only heard the names.

All this is for those happy spirits who love knowledge and vir-

tue. As to those who are fond of earthly things, weighed down by sordid or sensual propensities, they cannot rise ; but remain, hovering around the places they love, as wretched spectres, to haunt occasionally the living.

Thus both the good and the bad are to pass their intermediate state between death and the resurrection. Origen knew of no purgatory for the good, as it would plainly seem from his undoubted writings ; though some passages of questionable authority, have been adduced to fix the doctrine upon him.

In the resurrection, for which he strenuously argued, Origen believed that our bodies will be essentially the same as to figure, though much improved, and of a spiritual cast. In answer to objections then brought, he contends, that it is not needful to suppose we shall have precisely the same particles of matter which here compose our bodies ; for even in this life, the same body does not contain the same particles for so much as two days ; and we may even call a river the same body, though its waters are continually passing.

He thinks, as it respects the fundamental reason of an identical resurrection, that the same body which shared in the conflicts of the righteous, ought to wear the crown ; and the same which partook of the pleasures of sin, ought to suffer in the eternal flames of the ungodly. He moreover supposes, that the bodies of the just will be vastly superior to the black and miserable, yet indestructible bodies with which the wicked will be clad. Probably he was in advance of most men in his day, in the elevation of his views respecting the future state, at least as it respects the bodies of the saints ; for we find him arguing against those who contended, that we shall dwell here on this earth, in bodies and in a condition so much like the present, that we shall need food and drink, have children, live in cities walled with precious stones, have the wicked to serve us as labourers, and shall ourselves act as rulers of diverse degrees and living in great earthly splendour.

In contending against Celsus, who says that the hope of the Christians is worthy of worms, Origen does not content himself with the common saying of his day, viz. that nothing is impossible to God ; but he maintains, that there is an energy, a *seed*, in the body, which springs up like other seeds, and is itself fitted to produce the glorious body. Of course, there is not really that corruption of the future and immortal body, which the scoffer derides. The process is a natural one ; and it is not the cor-

rupted body, devoured by worms, that is to rise as the glorious habitation of the soul.

At the end of the world, the general judgment will take place. This, however, will not require a long course of time, although every secret thing is to be brought into judgment. On the contrary, Origen supposes, it will be like the resurrection itself, in a moment, in a twinkling of the eye. And this supposition is based on the assumption, that the thing which Christ, the omniscient judge, will then do, is merely to cause each individual at once to see the whole of his own past existence, and consequently to feel the justice of the final award. This may require no such length of time as would the complete exhibition of the minute facts in each case, to the whole universe, according to the more general views of Christians at the present day. Origen, as we have already seen, would probably anticipate the object of such a publication, in a great measure, by his supposed paradise.

The world is then to be burned ; but not, however, to be consumed. According to the opinion of some respectable Grecian philosophers, with which Origen agrees, and according to which he interprets some passages of Scripture, the world is only to be purified by a fire which is to burn up its bad qualities ; and thus the universe is to be renovated. This fire is also to purify the saints, burning up the wood, hay, and stubble of their spiritual building, and purging away the lead, so that nothing but pure gold shall remain. He supposes that none can rise from the dead perfectly pure, but all will need more or less of purgation ; and even such distinguished individuals as Paul and Peter, will have to pass through fire. And this fire, while it purifies, may also possibly serve as a punishment ; or, at all events, the language employed by God, in describing it, is designed as a motive of terror to the ignorant and stupid of this life.

After this, each one of the righteous will have his blessed allotment according to his deeds. There will be different degrees of happiness ; and by no means will all ascend immediately to heaven. While some are to be directly subject to Christ, others will be put under the supervision of angels, and will have many mansions or heavens to pass through, before they come to the beatific vision of the Father. But when they finally arrive at this highest state, they will there find their eternal felicity ; all will be spiritual enjoyment and spiritual occupation forever.

They will see God as he is—Christ as he is—and will drink at the exhaustless fountain of knowledge and wisdom.

Such is an outline of the views of Origen respecting the pious. We come now to inquire in respect to that other class, which the Scriptures denominate *the wicked*.

In the opinion of this father, the condition of the ungodly, between death and the resurrection, will be radically diverse from that of the righteous, in as much as they will be thrust into the fires of purgatory, the place prepared for the devil and his angels. But though there will be one and the same kind of punishment for all, both devils and wicked men, yet the degrees of suffering will differ in proportion to the degrees of guilt. Yet the agony of each one, will be terrible. Origen does not, however, seem to have conceived of a literal fire, in this case; for he says, that each one will kindle the flame of his appropriate fire, instead of being plunged in a fire already prepared by another. The materials to sustain this fire, are our sins; and the fire perhaps such, that while itself is invisible, it can burn things that are invisible. Like a fever raging in the body, the fresh remembrance of all past guilt, will prey upon the soul. Conscience will pierce with its appropriate stings. The soul will also be tormented with vile affections, anger, rage, and madness, love, grief, envy, etc. Nor will the deadly poison of these vile and inordinate affections, be assuaged by any of the alleviations we here find. The soul will also dwell in darkness, and be deprived of the divine spirit and of its guardian angel. And just as the naked body may here suffer more severely beneath the lash, so may the naked soul from its passions in the place of torment.

After the resurrection, Origen thinks the wicked may have dark and vile bodies, in contrast to those of the children of God.

As to the *duration* of their woe, he supposes, that as a wound which is here inflicted on the body in a moment, may require many months in healing, so the diseases contracted by a short course of sinful pleasure, may entail, on the guilty man, an eternity of suffering, in that place where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched. He does not hesitate at all to speak, in his common addresses, of the torments of the wicked as being eternal. Indeed it seems to be his design, as he likewise supposes it to be the design of the Scriptures, to take away all hope from those who in this life contemn God. But in his more philosophical discourses, he abundantly shows, that he does not assign a literal eternity of duration to the torments of the wicked.

He considered God as punishing the wicked, both men and devils, for the purpose of recovering them from sin, and thus doing away all moral evil ; and with it also, all natural evil. In the tenth chapter of his second book on Principles, which he devotes to the discussion of the future state of the wicked, Origen tells us, that ' God acts as the Physician of our souls, in assigning the torments of the infernal world ; and that his purpose is, to remove all the vices from the wicked which they have contracted by sin,' etc. And in the sixth chapter of the first book, he speaks still more at large on this subject. It is due to him, however, and to the cause of truth to state, that he here expressly admonishes the reader, before entering on the lofty subjects of the final consummation of God's great plan, that he is, with great fear and caution, about to propose some things rather for discussion and consideration, than for doctrines which he would propound as definite and certain. And he furthermore craves the candour of his reader, that he would not regard what he is about to offer, as amounting to a heretical departure from the received faith of the church. Such a statement and such a request seem to amount to a pretty full concession, that what he was about to propound, would be regarded as heresy by the church in his day, if he were to *assert* such things, instead of modestly propounding them for discussion. Such a concession is, of course, worth more to the cause of dogmatic history, than can be the most minute knowledge of what Origen himself or any other single individual then believed. It may also be remarked, that such a statement as this made near the beginning of his work on Principles, was doubtless intended to show the manner in which he would be understood throughout the whole work, when advancing the same sentiments ; and so too in his other works. We are therefore, not to understand him as being so fixed and decided in his views of a future and perfect restoration of our race to virtue and happiness, as the mere language of many insulated passages, would seem to imply. He is rather arguing one side of 'the question he propounds,' and saying what seems to him as *probably* true.

After thus limiting the manner in which he desires to be understood, he goes on to say, that "there will be an end of the world and a consummation of all things, when every one will be subjected to punishment according to the desert of his sins. God only knows the time when each will accomplish what he deserves. We suppose the goodness of God, through

Christ, will truly restore his universal creation to one end, even his enemies being subdued and made subjects. For so saith the Holy Scripture : The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool. And if it is not sufficiently manifest to us, what the prophetic Word would indicate by this, we may learn more fully from the apostle Paul, who says that it becomes Christ to reign till he hath put all things under his feet. But if this so plain an expression of the apostle does not sufficiently teach us what it is for enemies to be put under his feet, hear him yet further in the following : "For it is fit that all things should be made subject unto him." What, then, is the subjection in which all things should be subject? I think it is the very same in which we also desire to be subject to him, and in which the apostles and all the holy, who have followed Christ, are subject to him. For the name of the subjection by which we are subject to Christ, is indicative of the salvation of the subjects, a salvation which is from Christ ; just as David also says : "Shall not my soul be subject to God? for from him is my salvation." Origen goes on to argue further respecting this "end," when Christ, to whom all things are thus made subject, shall deliver the kingdom to the Father ; and he contends that this end will be like the beginning. Indeed, he affirms, that "the end is always like the beginning ;" and thus, as all were holy and happy at first, so they will be at the last ; all in heaven and on earth and under the earth, in which three designations the whole universe is included, shall bow the knee to Christ, and come in the unity of the Spirit, and thus all will be in accordance, and God will be all in all.

Those who are under the dominion of the devil, according to Origen, whether in this or in the future world, as they enjoy the power of freewill, may repent and turn to God. But it will be at an immensely distant period, before all of them will do this—ages upon ages, as it were eternal. Nor will they at once ascend to God, when they have passed through the scenes of positive misery, but will go through the gradations of ascent, from mansion to mansion, like the saints before them. God, he thinks, is able and disposed to accomplish all this in its proper time. Writing against Celsus, he says : "The Word is able to subdue all rational natures to himself, and to transform them into his own perfection ; when each one, using his own naked power, will choose what he wills and obtain what he chooses. For

though among the wounds and diseases of the body, there are those which no medical art can cure ; yet in the vices of the soul, we deny that there is any which cannot be cured by the supreme Word and God." When this is done, there will be no more death, nor pains of death, nor devil, nor evil being, nor evil thing. Men, and devils, and stars, and other fallen beings, if such there be, will all be brought back to perfect allegiance and perfect bliss and unity of feeling.

This view of a complete restoration, is one in which his mind seemed peculiarly to delight. It would be easy to add many more passages scattered through his works, and some of them partaking much of the sublime, in which he dwells on this idea of God's becoming all in all. But enough has probably been adduced to give a fair view of his scheme and his mode of proof. As it respects, however, this perfect unity throughout the whole range of existences, God all in all, it is by no means easy to comprehend precisely what he would mean, as he seems to be aiming at something more than a mere unity of feeling, purpose, action, and enjoyment, and yet not quite at the eastern notion of an absorption of all into God, from whom they first originated.

But whatever we may think of his speculations, there are two things which the candid student of the works of this great man, will readily acknowledge of him here as elsewhere, viz. that he is kind and modest in his manner, and that he deals much in Scripture proofs, for which he even shows the profoundest reverence, however strangely he interprets them. And it is with perfect propriety that Guerike remarks of him, that he joins the modesty of a Christian with the audacity of a philosopher.¹

Dionysius.—We find but little from this author on the subject of *eschatology*, as it is sometimes called, or the final state of man. And this little has reference to the position then maintained by the *chiliasts*. They supposed, that Christ would descend from heaven and reign on earth, for a thousand years, or perhaps for many thousands, after the destruction of Antichrist ; and that the saints would be raised and would reign with him. Origen opposed this notion, as is evident from what we have already seen. Dionysius followed his steps ; and as appears from

¹ For the authorities on which the above statements are made, see Con. Cels. IV. 21. V. 14—20. VIII. 72. De Princ. II. 10, 1—8. and 11, 1—7. I. 6, 3, and other references in Guer. II. p. 260 sq.

his own account, quoted by Eusebius,¹ he was very successful in reclaiming whole churches in the province of Arsinoe, and of convincing Coracius their chief leader in this schism. They founded their belief chiefly on a false interpretation of some passages in the Apocalypse; but Dionysius, instead of rectifying their exegesis, rejected the authority of the whole book.

We pass over the teachers between Dionysius and Didymus, as affording nothing to our present purpose in the writings they have left us.

Didymus.—This catechist also opposed the chiliasts, who were still found in considerable numbers; and who, indeed, though with modified views, have been found probably in every age down to the present.

After the death of the body, Didymus supposes the souls of believers to be conveyed to Abraham's bosom, which he understands to be some lofty and etherial region. This is surely a great improvement from the notions of his admired Origen. When there, however, he supposes them to intercede for those still left on the earth.

He believed in a resurrection of the body; but that it would be a spiritual body, in distinction from its present grossness.

As to the time of the resurrection, he supposed that Antichrist must first appear upon earth in a season of great distress, and that the period was then nigh.

Following the resurrection, is to be the last judgment, which Didymus concludes will be conducted by Christ and the Father in conjunction. The inheritance of the blessed is then to be assigned, and they are to reign with Christ forever. Still they are not to be *kings*, but are to exist and reign in a kind of union with Christ and the Father.

In respect to the *wicked*, he speaks of their being consigned to "the quenchless fire of hell," and as "having to endure everlasting torment," and "being led away into eternal death," and "having no more repentance." And yet, on the other hand, he seemed to hope for the repentance of fallen angels; and as Guericke thinks, did not entirely despair of the final salvation of lost men, "after an eternal period."²

¹ Euseb. Ecc. Hist. VII. 24.

² De Trin. I. 29. 89. II. 3. 7. 12. 27, III. 29. Guericke II. p. 378 sq.

Thus have we taken some view of the lives and doctrines of those fathers who, for more than two centuries, presided over the first and principal school of clerical instruction, in those deeply interesting and forming ages of the church. The amount of influence they exerted, and which still exists in its countless ramifications throughout Christendom, it is impossible to estimate. We might dwell on many other topics of doctrine, practice, and mode of interpreting the sacred oracles, were it worth while to prolong this article further.

It would doubtless be interesting and profitable, to continue the investigation of clerical education down through the succeeding ages, were the materials equally at hand.—But I must close, at least for the present, with the brief remark, that the more familiar we become with the state of the church in past ages, especially with the doctrines that have been held, the more deeply shall we be impressed with the reflection, that neither wisdom nor folly has been born in our day.

ART. II.—THE KARAITES, AND OTHER JEWISH SECTS.

From Henderson's Travels in Russia.*

The most popular sect among the Jews, is that known by the name of *Rabbinists*, or *Talmudists*, i. e. such as yield implicit obedience to the doctrines and institutions of the Rabbins, as delivered in, or deducible from the Talmud, and who, according to the general acceptation of the term, may be accounted the orthodox. They are also sometimes called *Baalê Mishna*,

* "Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia. By E. Henderson, [now Prof. of Divinity etc. in Highbury College,] London 1826." p. 233 sq. 306 sq. As this work has never been reprinted in America, we have thought it worth the while to transfer the following interesting account to our pages.—The chief source of earlier information respecting the Karaites, is the work of Wolf. viz. J. C. WOLFF *Notitia Karaeorum*, Hamb. 1721, to which is appended Trigland's tract, J. TRIGLANDII *Diatriba de Secta Karaeorum*.—EDITOR.

or possessors of the Mishna, because its decisions obtain among them, as the sole and infallible interpretation of the law. They are precisely, in the present day, what the Pharisees were in the time of our Lord; and it requires but little acquaintance with them, to be sensible of those features of character which are so strongly marked by the Evangelists, as distinguishing that ancient sect. But, although the Rabbinites compose the great body of the Jews in Poland, there exist other denominations, the numbers and peculiarities of which are too considerable not to strike the inquisitive traveller.

These are the *Karaites*, the *Chasidim*, and the *Zoharites*, or followers of Sabbathai Tzevi.

The *Chasidim*, or "Pietists," must not be confounded with the party who took the same name at the time of the Macabees, and rendered themselves famous by the zeal with which they contended for the national institutions. The sect to which I here refer, dates its origin no farther back than the year 1740, when its doctrines were first broached by Israel Baalshem, in the small country town of Flussty, in Poland. In the course of about twenty years, his fame, as an exorcist, and master of the Cabala, spread to such a degree, that he obtained a great number of followers in Poland, Moldavia, and Wallachia. This Rabbi gave out, that he alone was possessed of the true mystery of the Sacred name; that his soul at certain times left the body, in order to receive revelations in the world of spirits; and, that he was endowed with miraculous powers by which he was able to control events, both in the physical and intellectual world. His followers were taught to look to him for the absolution of every crime they might commit; to repress every thing like reflection on the doctrines of religion; to expect the immediate appearance of the Messiah; and in sickness, to abstain from the use of medicine—assured, that their spiritual guides, of whom several made their appearance on the death of the founder, were possessed of such merits, as would procure for them instant recovery. The accusations of gross immorality brought against the members of this sect by the Lithuanian Rabbi, Israel Loebel, have been called in question,¹ and are supposed rather to have originated in prejudice, than to have any foundation in truth; but I have been informed by one, who has had the best opportunities of investigating the subject, that their morals are most obnoxious, and

¹ Gregoire's *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, tom ii. p. 348.

that the representations that have been given of them are by no means exaggerated. They are not only at enmity with all the other Jews, but form the bitterest and most bigotted enemies of the christian religion. They believe, that the Messiah, whom they are hourly expecting, will be a mere man, but will come with such an effulgence of glory, as to produce a complete regeneration in the heart of every Jew, and deliver them thenceforth from every evil. To their Rabbins, whom they honour with the name of *Zadiks*, or "Righteous," they pay almost divine homage. The extravagance of their gestures during their public service, entitles them to the appellation of the "Jewish Jumpers." Working themselves up into ecstasies, they break out into fits of laughter, clap their hands, jump up and down in the synagogue in the most frantic manner; and turning their faces towards heaven, they clench their fists, and, as it were, dare the Almighty to withhold from them the objects of their requests. This sect has so increased of late years, that in Russian Poland and European Turkey, it is reported to exceed in number that of the Rabbinites in these parts.

Of this sect there exists a subdivision founded by Rabbi Solomon, in the government of Mohilef. They are distinguished by the name of *Habadim*, a word composed of the initial letters of three Hebrew words, חכמה בינה ודעת, "wisdom, intelligence, and knowledge." They may not improperly be termed the "Jewish Quietists," as their distinguishing peculiarity consists in the rejection of external forms, and the complete abandonment of the mind to abstraction and contemplation. Instead of the baptisms customary among the Jews, they go through the signs without the use of the element, and consider it their duty to disengage themselves as much as possible from matter, because of its tendency to clog the mind in its ascent to the Supreme Source of Intelligence. In prayer they make no use of words, but simply place themselves in the attitude of supplication, and exercise themselves in mental ejaculations.

The *Zoharites*, so called from their attachment to the book *Zohar*, are properly to be regarded as a continuation of the sect formed by the famous Sabbathai Tzevi. Their creed is briefly as follows: 1. They believe in all that God has ever revealed, and consider it their duty constantly to investigate its meaning. 2. They regard the letter of Scripture to be merely the shell, and that it admits of a mystical and spiritual interpretation. 3. They believe in a Trinity of *Parzufim*, or persons in *Elohim*.

4. They believe in the incarnation of God; that this incarnation took place in Adam, and that it will again take place in the Messiah. 5. They do not believe that Jerusalem will ever be re-built. 6. They believe that it is vain to expect any temporal Messiah; but that God will be manifested in the flesh, and in this state atone, not only for the sins of the Jews, but for the sins of all throughout the world who believe in him.

This sect was revived about the year 1750, by a Polish Jew, of the name of Jacob Frank, who settled in Podolia, and enjoyed the protection of the Polish government, to which he was recommended by the Bishop of Kamenetz, in whose presence he held disputes with the orthodox Jews, and who was astonished at the approximation of his creed to the principles of Christianity. On the death of the Bishop, he and his adherents were driven into the Turkish dominions; and being also persecuted there by the Rabbinites, they resolved to conform to the rites of the catholic Church. Frank at last found a place of rest at Offenbach, whither his followers flocked by thousands to visit him, and where he died in 1791. Their number does not appear to have increased much of late; but they are to be met with in different parts of Hungary and Poland.

THE KARAITES.

An object of no ordinary interest which we hoped to attain by our visit to the Crimea, and which we had long regarded with pleasing anticipations, was a personal interview with the Karaite Jews inhabiting an ancient fortress at the distance of a few versts from *Baghtchisarai*. The antiquity of the sect, the reasonableness of their grounds of separation from the great body of the Jewish people, their purely oriental habits, the little intercourse that any of the learned in Europe have had with them, and the fact, long known yet but little investigated, that they possessed the books of the Old Testament in a peculiar dialect of the Tartar language:—all tended to excite our curiosity, and render them the subject of Biblical and literary research.

Accordingly, the day after our arrival in *Baghtchisarai*, we proceeded in company with the Rev. Messrs. Glen and Ross, towards *Djufut-Kalè*, or the Jews' Fort, the road to which led us further up the deep and narrow valley in which the ancient capital of the Crimea is situated. The rocks on our left were high and precipitous, and often projected over-head, exhibiting

large excavations and grottos, many of which seemed to be used by the Tartars, partly for residence and partly for sheltering their cattle. Our ride through the upper end of the town, among mesjeds, medresses, minarets, and majestic poplars, was singularly picturesque and interesting. Near the site of a palace, in the valley called *Ashlama-derè*, that was razed to the foundations on the fall of the Tartar empire, we turned to the west, and entered another narrow defile, known by the name of *Mariam-derè*, or Mary's Vale, from a Greek convent dedicated to the Virgin, which has been curiously excavated in the precipice on the right, and looks like a large covered balcony at the height of several hundred feet from the valley below. Leaving our horses to graze on the verdant bank of the rivulet, we ascended the monastery by a narrow flight of steps; and, on reaching the entrance in "the crag of the rock," the view of the precipice over which we were suspended was so tremendous, that we instantly receded with sensations of awe. The church measured fifty feet in length by twenty-four in breadth, yet small as were its dimensions, its darkness was but dimly enlightened by a lamp hanging before a painting at the inner end. All was sombre and silent, and with the exception of a single religious solitary, we saw nothing to remind us of the world of mortals. We were informed, however, that scarcely a day elapses on which the convent is not visited for purposes of devotion; and on the day of the ascension of the Virgin, numbers of visitors to the amount of several thousands, collect from all parts of the Crimea, and even from the Russian districts beyond Perekop. As only a few can be admitted at once, the passage of steps communicating between the valley and the monastery, presents a curious scene of ascent and descent, while both sides of the rivulet are diversified by small groups, renewing their old acquaintances, or contracting new ones.

Directly below, on the opposite side of the defile, we observed extensive ruins, marking the site of a town formerly inhabited by Greeks, but laid desolate on the subjugation of the Tartars. From this romantic spot we prosecuted our ride, and passing two beautiful fountains, to which the Jewish damsels, like Rebekah and Rachel of old, "come out to draw water,"¹ we reached the foot of the precipice, on the summit of which *Dju-*

¹ The general supply of water is conveyed on the backs of horses or asses.

fut-Kalè is situated. The road now became excessively steep; and, as it forms a complete zig-zag, we were surprised to find, that when we supposed ourselves near the entrance of the fort, the pathway appeared all at once to be terminated by a rugged and inaccessible rock. We were the more disconcerted at this discovery, as a thunder-storm had just commenced, and the rain began to pour down with violence; but on turning another angle, we came to several caverns in the side of the precipice, where we found a temporary shelter, and from which we contemplated the flashes of the lightning, and listened to the awfully reverberating roar of the thunder in the valley below.

When the storm was over, we again commenced our ascent, and soon came to the gate of this ancient fortress, through which we were admitted into a narrow street running from one end of the town to the other. The houses are all constructed in the oriental style, with the windows looking into the courts, and are surrounded by a high stone wall. Besides the defence formed by these walls, rising perpendicularly from the brink of the precipices on either side, a regular fortified wall has been raised to protect such places as had not been rendered strong by nature. The streets had been washed by the rain which was running down in torrents, but we walked on a fine broad pavement leading to the principal synagogue, where we met the chief Rabbi, a venerable old man of the name of Isaac, by whom we were received with great courtesy, and conducted to the residence of Rabbi Benjamin, which appeared to be the house destined for the reception of strangers.

On entering the guest chamber, or "upper-room," which was beautifully covered with carpets, we were obliged to pull off our boots, and recline in the oriental fashion, on bolsters, which were placed round the sides of the room. While engaged in a friendly interchange of questions and answers with our host, a large tray was placed on the floor in the middle of the room, covered with bread, butter, dates, pears, mulberries, brandy, and wine, of which we were invited to partake at pleasure. The conversation was carried on in Turkish and Hebrew; and the Rabbins seemed no less anxious to satisfy our curiosity, than we were to obtain information respecting the history and distinguishing peculiarities of the Karaim. In Benjamin's library, besides the Talmud, and a considerable collection of other Hebrew books, we found a good copy of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible. Besides the Tartar Targum, of which more presently, he shewed

us several Karaite commentaries in Hebrew, and assured us that they had them on the whole Bible; but that entire copies were very scarce, and high in price. A commentary on the Pentateuch alone costs 150 rubles, or about £6 sterling.

From the house of the Rabbi we proceeded to the synagogues, which are two in number, a larger and a smaller, the former of which is elegantly fitted up, and is ornamented in the inside with a large stone monument, erected on the accession of the emperor Alexander to the throne. The inscription contains some beautiful laudatory lines in the Hebrew language. From the Ark of the Covenant, several elegant, and one or two apparently very ancient MSS. of the law, in rolls of parchment, were brought out, and exhibited to us, some of which had been written on the spot, and the rest brought from Constantinople and Poland. The body of the synagogue was filled with reading desks, on each of which lay Hebrew Bibles, prayer-books, and parts of the Tartar Targum. The Bibles were chiefly of the Venetian editions, such as are mostly in request among the Spanish Jews in Constantinople, whence they have been conveyed to the Crimea.

The number of families resident in Djufut-Kalè, amounts to about *two-hundred and fifty*, many of the members of which are absent during certain seasons of the year, transacting business in Odessa, and other towns in Russia and Poland. Others of them regularly repair every morning to Baghtchisarai, where they have shops, and return to the castle in the evening.

Passing through the southern gate, we ascended a small eminence, from which we had a commanding view, not only of this "munition of rocks," but of the romantic scenery by which it is surrounded. Towards the east the Tent mountain (*Tchatirdagh*), rose majestically above the intervening chains of rugged and precipitous rocks, and almost directly south, we caught a distant prospect of the fortress of *Monkup*. This ancient castle, once in possession of the Genoese, is now in ruins; but it was inhabited till within these few years by Tartars and Karaite Jews. Being situated on the summit of a high insulated rock, it is almost inaccessible, and presents a singularly prominent object in the perspective. *Djufut-Kalè* itself, we now found to be constructed on the summit of the narrowest part of a high ridge of rocks, which here projects towards the north, and terminates abruptly on meeting the valley of Ashlama, above Baghtchisarai. The strength of this place is mostly from nature, the rocks rising

perpendicularly on either side, and the ridge, not being of any breadth, it required little labour to fortify the town at its southern termination. The continuation of the ridge is covered with grass, and used to afford pasture to a fine herd of deer; but we were informed by the Jew who conducted us, that their number is now reduced to *three*.

We now descended into the "Valley of Jehoshaphat," or the Karaite burying-ground, consisting of a deep recess, covered with lofty trees, to the sombre shade of which, the white slabs placed over the graves of the deceased, presented the most interesting contrast. A pleasing melancholy seized our minds as we entered this hallowed spot; and were it not for the distressing idea of the obstinate unbelief of Judaism, associated with the general amability of the Karaite character, it is scarcely possible to conceive any scene more calculated to soothe the mind of a contemplative spectator. The tomb-stones, mostly of white marble, are regularly arranged in rows, somewhat after the manner of the Moravian graves; and the more modern have an additional monument at either end, consisting likewise of a marble slab, some with and some without Hebrew inscriptions. Being anxious, if possible, to discover from these monumental annals, how far back the residence of the Jews in Djufut-Kalé could be traced, we requested our guide to point out to us the oldest grave, which he readily did, assuring us that it was held in great veneration by his brethren. It consists of a plain slab, which has been partially fractured on the surface; but, on clearing away the moss which had filled up the incisions of the letters, the following inscription was brought out:

שמענו
קבורת גנו
יוסף בן דוד
בשנת חמש
אלפים ור
וח

The reader will observe, that the last letter in the first line has been considerably effaced, but to judge from its present appearance, it must have been a *Mem*. The rest of the letters שמע, I take to form the initial word of the sacred motto of the Jews, שמע ישראל, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our Elohim is one Jehovah." Deut. vi. 4. This inscription is also defective at

the close, something having been effaced after the Daleth, which the sculptor, not versed in the laws of Masoretic caligraphy, has divided, and placed the plural feminine termination at the beginning of the following line. The word has, most probably, been the poetical form שָׁנוֹר; so that the whole inscription will read thus: "*Hear, O Israel, etc. The Grave of Geez, Joseph Ben David. In the year Five thousand and four.* That is, according to the Christian era, the year 1364, an epoch somewhat more than a century later than the commencement of the Tartar dynasty in the Crimea.

The *Karaim* have no written document to prove at what time they first occupied this fort, or develop the circumstances which originated or attended their immigration into the peninsula. Peysonel, in his work on the Commerce of the Black Sea, states that a tradition obtained among them, purporting that their ancestors inhabited the city of Bukhara in Great Tartary, and that they accompanied the Tartars in their memorable expedition into Europe. The circumstance that the Karaites dress much in the Tartar style, and speak a dialect to which they give the name of *Djagaltai*, might seem to give some weight to this account; but no such tradition is known to the present generation, and their conformity to the Tartars in language and habits is easily accounted for, by the length of time they have lived under their dominion. In consequence of inquiries made on the spot, as well as subsequent epistolary communications, it appears that they have no recollection of any bond of union ever having existed between their ancestors and the Bukharian Jews; that, as far as their knowledge extends, there exist no Karaim in that quarter; and the only traditionary account current among them is, that their ancestors came from *Damascus*, and settled here about 500 years ago, under the protection of the Khans of the Crimea. Their language, too, as exhibited in their ancient books, approximates much more to the *Osmanli*, than to the Oriental Turkish.¹

About the beginning of last century, in the reign of the Khan Hadji Selim Gherei, they had peculiar privileges conferred on them, in consequence of a successful cure performed by one of their physicians on Ulu Khani, a sister of the Khan, who was

¹ It appears, from the *Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, that there were Karaites in the Crimea about the year 1180, which was considerably prior to the arrival of the Tartars.

dangerously ill. Instead of any longer performing certain drudgery-work at the palace, and paying a heavy capitation-tax, in common with their neighbours, the Greeks and Armenians, they were taken under the protection of the princesses of the above rank, and only supplied their establishment with wood, coffee, and other articles of domestic use, which they furnished not so much by way of tribute, but as a token of gratitude for the immunities that were granted them.

With respect to the sect in general, it claims a very high antiquity, and seems originally to have been the same with that of the Sadducees, one of the three principal sects which divided the Jewish nation about two hundred years before the incarnation of our Saviour. One of their distinguishing tenets is known to have been their strict adherence to the letter of the law, to the entire exclusion of traditionary interpretation; and, indeed, it has not unnaturally been conjectured by some authors of note, that the errors which that sect taught in the time of our Lord formed no part of their primitive creed, and that it was the adoption of these errors by the disciples of Sadok, that gave birth to the Karaim; whom, in common with Hottinger, Altling, Trigland, and others, Prideaux takes to be *Scribes* so frequently mentioned in the New Testament. This opinion, however, seems totally irreconcilable with Matt. xv. 1, 2, where the Scribes are represented as equally tenacious of the traditions with the Pharisees. It is not improbable that the number of the reformed party of the Sadducees was extremely small in the days of our Lord, as, in fact, that of the Karaim has comparatively been in every succeeding age. According to Mordecai, one of their own writers, they are sprung from Judah Ben Tab-bai, and were originally denominated, after him, the Society of J. B. T. but afterwards changed their name to that of *Karaim*.

But whatever obscurity may remain, as to the exact period or the particular occasion of their origin, so much is certain, that the sect was not formed by Rabbi Anan, as Morinus and others have erroneously supposed; but that it only underwent a reformation by that celebrated Rabbi, during the period of his opposition to the introduction of the Talmud as a rule of manners, and his enforcement of the paramount authority of the divine law. In proof of this, I shall quote a passage from the Karaite ritual, at the commencement of the chapter entitled זכרון, or the service in memory of the dead; in which we find Anan occupying the first place, but only as one who had effected a radical re-

formation of manners, and reduced the *Karaites* to the primitive observance of the law. The prayer begins thus:—"May our God, and the God of our fathers, have mercy on our dead, and your dead, and all the dead of all his people of the house of Israel! And, first of all, on Anan our Rabbi, the prince, the man of God, chief of the captivity, *who opened the way of the law, and enlightened the eyes of the Scripturists*, [literally, *Sons of the text*,] and turned many from iniquity and transgression, and caused us to walk in the right way."¹ The same language, with an accumulation of laudatory epithets, is used respecting him by Mordecai; and Rabbi S. Shullam, agreeably to this, declares that Anan אֲנָן הַקָּרְאִים, "confirmed the faith of the Karaites." Jucharin, fol. cxiix. col. 2. According to Makrizi,² Anan came from the east, under the caliphate of Abu Djafer Mansur, about the middle of the eighth century, and brought along with him copies of the law, professedly taken from the architypal exemplar, written by the hand of Moses. His great learning, and the favour he enjoyed with the Caliph, gave him peculiar advantages in his disputes with the Talmudists, whom he taxed with the introduction of usages contrary to those inculcated by the sacred books in his hands; and it would appear, both from the statements of Makrizi, and those of Abulfeda,³ that Anan, as well as some of his followers, spoke with the highest respect of Jesus of Nazareth, and condemned the Jews for treating him as an impostor, and putting him to death, without weighing the justice of his pretensions, and his claims of excellence and merit.

If the accounts that obtain among themselves may be credited, the first place where a Karaite synagogue was established, after the destruction of Jerusalem, was Grand Cairo, in which city they have always kept up a separate community, and where, according to most recent accounts, they still exist at the present day. The Karaite Rabbi Samuel states, in his Itinerary, that besides fourteen copies of the law, the Karaite synagogue at

¹ אֲלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵלֵהִי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ יִרְחֹם אֶת מַתִּינִי וְאֶת מַחִיכִם וְאֶת מַחִי
כָּל כָּל עַמּוֹ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרֹאשׁ וּבְתַחֲלָה לְרִבְנֵינוּ עֵנָן הַנְּשִׂיאִי אִישׁ
הָאֱלֹהִים רֹאשׁ הַגִּלָּה אֲשֶׁר פָּתַח אֶת דֶּרֶךְ הַתּוֹרָה יְהוָה עֵינֵי בְנֵי מִקְרָא
וְרַבִּים הַשֵּׁיב מֵעֵן וּמַעֲבֵרָה וְהַדְרִיכֵנוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:

² De Sacy's Chrestomathie Arabe. Vol. II. p. 176.

³ Chrest. Arabe, p. 207.

Cairo possessed a great number of books written by their wise men, in the Arabic language. In the village of Haskiöl, near Constantinople, they have long been established, and maintain that they are descendants of such Karaites as settled there in the time of Constantine the Great. When visited by Biörnstahl, in 1776, their number amounted to about *two hundred*; but Dr Scholtz, who was there in 1821, states their number at 1,500. They were in possession of MSS. containing the Hebrew Text of the Five Books of Moses, with the Targum of Onkelos, written A. D. 1240. He also found among them a Tartar version,¹ in all probability a copy of that in use among the Crimean Karaites, and of which a particular account will be given at the close of this chapter; but, according to earlier accounts, the translation in common use among them is in the vernacular Greek,² and is doubtless the same that was printed in the Constantinopolitan Polyglott, in the year 1547. According to a letter addressed to Hottinger,³ by Professor Legerus of Geneva, there existed, about the year 1649, in Poland, 2,000 Karaites; in Constantinople, 70; in Theodosia, 1,200; in Cairo, 300; in Damascus, 200; in Jerusalem, 30; in Babylonia, 100; and in Persia, 600. At the present day, they are found in different parts of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Austria, the Caucasus, Turkey, Egypt, Abyssinia, India, and the Holy Land; but their numbers have not been ascertained.

As has already been observed, the principal point of difference between them and the Rabbinites, or Pharisaical Jews, consists in their rejection of the oral law, and their rigid appeal to the text of Scripture as the exclusive and only infallible source and test of religious truth. It is on this account that they are called *Karaites*,⁴ or *Scripturists*, which name they glory in, as clearly and honourably expressive of the fundamen-

¹ Michaelis' Orient. and Exeget. Bibl. xv. pp. 92, 93.

² Tela Ign. Satanae, p. 596.

³ Thesaur. Philol. p. 583. Compare Rabbi Benjamin's Itinerary; according to which, that author found at Constantinople above 500 Karaim; at Askalon, 40; at Damascus, 200. He travelled about the middle of the twelfth century.

⁴ קראים, *Karaim*, from קרא, *Kara*, "Scripture." They are also frequently called בני מקרא, *bene mikra*, sons of the text, and בעלי מקרא, *baalé-mikra*, masters or possessors of the text.

tal peculiarity of their creed, though, in all probability, as is the case with the epithets by which most sects and systems of opinions have been characterized, it was given them at first by their enemies. The reader will greatly err, however, if he supposes that, in their zeal for the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, the Karaites carry their enmity to the Talmud and other Jewish writings so far as never to consult them, or have them in their possession. This is by no means the case. On our visit to the principal Rabbi in *Djufut Kalè*, we found some of the ponderous volumes in his library; and the answer he gave to our expression of surprise was singularly characteristic of the moderation and good sense of the sect in general:—"We do not admit that the Talmud has any binding authority over our consciences, and there are many things in it which we cannot approve; but should we on this account reject what is good in it, and not avail ourselves of such statements as are consonant with the text of Scripture?"

Another remarkable point of disagreement between the two sects, is their different methods of interpreting Scripture. While the Talmudist chiefly applies the cabbalistical art to bring out recondite and mysterious meanings from the sacred text, the Karaite maintains that the Scripture is its own interpreter, and that the sense of a passage is to be determined by the grammatical meaning of the words, the scope and connexion, and a comparison of parallel passages.

The necessary consequence of this close attachment to the letter of the law is visible, in various ways, both in their personal conduct, and in their ritual observances. For example: it is commanded in the law of Moses, "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day," *Exod. xxxv. 3*; yet every traveller must be struck, on entering a Polish village during the night of the Jewish Sabbath, to find it completely illuminated by the profusion of candles that are burning in the houses of the Jews, all of which have been lighted a few minutes before the Sabbath commenced; and as to the keeping up of fires, every difficulty is removed by laying the emphasis on the word *thou*, concluding, that it is not unlawful for the Jews to get Christian servants to do these offices for them. In the houses of the Karaim, on the contrary, you will neither see a candle nor fire, from sunset on Friday evening till the same time the evening following. They eat nothing but cold meat during the whole of this period. The only instance of evasion on their part that I

have heard of, is their leaning over the window to light and smoke their pipes; but my information was from a Rabbinit, and is therefore to be suspected.

The Karaim also sanctify the Sabbath by rigid abstinence and a close application of the mind to the duties of religion. At *Dyufut Kalè*, the gates of the fort are shut at sunset on Friday evening, and never on any occasion, opened till sunset on the evening of the Sabbath, in strict conformity with the ordinance Neh. xiii. 19. This was one of the privileges conceded to them by the Khans of the Crimea. The Rabbinites, on the contrary, in direct violation of Isa. lviii. 13, "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath—from doing thy pleasure on my holy day," convert it into a season of carnal delight, making it a day of feasting, conviviality, and sensual enjoyment.

The *Karaim* are free from many of the superstitions to be found among the Jews in general, such as the transmigration of souls, the power of talismans, etc. and, as might naturally be expected from their principles, the standard and tone of morals which their general deportment exhibits is quite of a different stamp from those of the *Rabbinites*. In their persons they are tidy; their domestic discipline and arrangements are correct and exemplary; and their dealings with others are characterized by probity and integrity. It is one of their favourite maxims, that "Those things which a man is not willing to receive himself, it is not right for him to do to his brethren,"¹—a maxim literally corresponding with that which our Lord pronounces to be the sum of what the law and prophets taught as the duty of man to man, Matt. vii. 12. How far the *Karaim* act up to this principle, may be ascertained by the fact, that they are universally respected by all who know them; and I never heard any person speak ill of them, except he was a bigoted adherent of the Talmud. In the south of Russia, where they are best known, their conduct is proverbial; and I cannot place it in a stronger light than by recording the testimony borne to it by a Polish gentleman in Dubno, who informed me that, while the other Jews resident in Lutsk are continually engaged in suits at law, and require the utmost vigilance on the part of the police, there is not on record a single instance of prosecution against the Ka-

¹ הענינים שלא יקבלום האדם לעצמו כן אין ראוי לעשותם לאחרים.

raim for the space of several hundred years, during which they have been settled in that place!

By the *Rabbinites* they are held in perfect abhorrence. Eisenmenger relates¹ that he was eye-witness of this in Frankfort on the Maine, where he found a *Karaite* in the Jews' street, to whom they had been kind at first, taking him to be of their own sect; but the moment they discovered that he was one of the "Sons of the Text," they hissed him out of the street with contempt. In the time of Rabbi Benjamin,² there existed a literal wall of separation between them in Constantinople; and I was struck, when visiting them at Lutsk, to find that they lived in a separate quarter of the town, altogether distinct from the other Jews, who never spoke of them without contumely; and they even declared, that if they saw a Christian in danger of being drowned, it would be their duty to make a bridge of a *Karaite* in order rescue him. In short, they carry their enmity to such a pitch, that they will not receive a *Karaite* into their communion until he has previously made a profession of the Mohammedan or Christian faith.

The *Karaim*, on the contrary, though they execrate the traditions of the *Rabbinites*, never speak of their persons with contempt, but commonly give them the fraternal appellation אֶחָיו הַרְבָּנִים, "our brethren, the Rabbinites."

It may not be amiss, in this place, to furnish the reader with some account of the mode of public worship in use among the *Karaim*, an opportunity of observing which was presented, on my visit to their synagogue in the town of *Lutsk*.

This visit took place on the day of Pentecost, 1821. The synagogue, which is situated in the back part of the town, is a square wooden building, capable of containing about two hundred people. The entrance is from the east, and leads immediately into the outer court, which is appropriated to the use of the females, and is divided from the rest of the synagogue by a thin partition, in which is a chink to admit of hearing and observing what is transacted within. Directly in front of the entrance, and fixed to the western wall, is the Ark of the Covenant, containing the book of the law, the front of which is covered

¹ Entdecktes Judenthum, Vol. I. p. 305.

² אֲבִינָהּ וְבִין הַרְבָּנִים שֶׁהֵם תַּלְמִידֵי חֻכְמִים נִשְׁתַּבְּחִים
Lips. ed. Elz. p. 28.

with a veil about eight feet in length by two and a half in breadth. Besides this veil are two smaller, one on each side, covering the prayer-books and other things requisite for the use of the officiating Rabbi. Close to the ark is a small reading-desk, somewhat in the shape of a music-stand, where the Levite, or minister, assists at certain parts of the service; and in front, near the middle of the synagogue, stands a square table, painted blue, and adorned with two coverlets, one of woollen stuff of various colours, and the other of silk richly embroidered and ornamented. On each side of this table stands a large candlestick, with seven branches, filled with wax candles; and, at different distances, round the synagogue, stand a number of reading-desks, each of which has a box containing such books as are used in the time of service.

Instead of the larger and smaller *Talith* (טלית), or white woollen garments, which the other Jews put on when they go into the synagogue, the Karaim use two long belts of woollen stuff, which are thrown over the shoulders, and joined behind by a square piece of the same material, which is more or less ornamented according to the circumstances of the owner. To the corners of this piece are attached the *Tzitzith* (ציצית), or long fringes, or ornamented strings, which the wearer puts together at different parts of the service, especially before the reading of the law, and, having kissed them, places them upon his eyes, as a sign that the divine commandments, of which these strings are symbolical, are the only medium of light to the mind. The custom is founded on Numbers xv. 38—40.

The Rabbi was dressed in a long robe of black silk, over which a large white *Talith* was thrown, which covered his head, and hung down nearly to the bottom of his robe. The prevailing dress of the people was a long blue top coat, lined with lambskin, and large lambskin caps, in the Tartar manner.

The service of the day had commenced before I went, so that I found them already advanced to the reading of different parts of the Scriptures. I am not aware that it is known among Christians, but it is certainly deserving of notice, that the celebrated prophecy, quoted by the Apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, from the prophet Joel, chapter ii. 28—32, forms a part of the Pentacostal service of the Karaitic Jews. Such, however, is the fact, and may we not conclude, from the pertinacity with which this ancient sect adhere to their primitive institutions, that the same coincidence took place in the Apostolic age; that, in the

divine prescience, those who selected the Haphtorahs or sections from the prophets to be read in the synagogues, were directed to choose this passage from Joel for the particular feast on which it was to receive its proper and remarkable accomplishment; and, that the Apostle Peter, in quoting the lesson for the day, had recourse to one of the most powerful arguments which he could possibly have used, in order to convince a Jew of the divine nature of the transactions exhibited on that stupendous occasion?

Nearly two hours were spent in repeating prayers, and reading passages out of the Psalms and the Prophets, in all of which the congregation took a greater share than the Rabbi, who, at certain intervals fell down on his knees, and bowed with his face to the ground. At length that part of the service commenced, which is preparatory to the manifestation of the law. It consisted chiefly in prayers, which were repeated with uncommon earnestness; the congregation lifting up their hands, and elevating their voice, while, at regular intervals, the words, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our Elohim is one Jehovah," were repeated with much solemnity. The Ark was then opened, and the law brought out with great reverence, and placed endwise upon the table of testimony. The upper end of the roll was ornamented with a crown, on the top of which was infixed a precious stone, and at different distances hung small silver tablets, the gifts of zealous members of the congregation. The numerous wrappings were no sooner taken off, than the worshippers pressed forward to kiss them; after which, a deputation of three little boys came in from the outer court, and receiving them into their extended arms, conveyed them out to the females, who also kissed them and placed them on their eyes, in the same manner as the men had done.

The law was now laid flat on the table, and the minister addressed the officiating priest in the following words:

"Thou, therefore, my father, O Priest, the crown of my head, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law: approach with reverence."

On which the congregation repeated, in Hebrew, the divine promise to Phinehas: "*And it shall be to him and his seed after him, a covenant of everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel,*" Numb. xxv. 13; and in Chaldee: "*And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children*

of the captivity, kept the dedication of the house of God with joy," Ezra vi. 16.

Having repeated certain introductory sentences from the 119th Psalm, the Rabbi began the lesson: "In the third month of the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt," etc. Exod. xix. 1.

When he had finished this portion, he quoted the words: "*Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel*, etc. Psalm lxxii. 18, 19, and the minister, turning to a young man that was standing by, said:

"*And thou, my brother, O Levite, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law; approach with reverence.*"

To which the congregation gave in response:

"*And to Levi he said: Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy Holy One, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.*"

The Levite then came forward and repeated several passages from the Psalms, Job, and the book of Proverbs, and read several verses of the lesson, concluding with the words: "*Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel; and blessed be his glorious name for ever.*"

The rest of the lesson was read by certain individuals from the congregation, who were in like manner summoned in turn by the minister, with the words:

"*And thou, my brother, O Israelite, give glory to the law, and approach to read in the book of the law; approach with reverence.*"

Having read to the commencement of Exodus xx, the whole congregation stood some time in silence, till the Rabbi began to repeat, in Hebrew, the ten commandments, which the congregation immediately repeated after him in Tartar, each commandment apart. The concluding part of the chapter was then read; and after a general ascription of glory to the Supreme Lawgiver, during which the law was rolled up and replaced in the Ark, the minister turned to one of the people and addressed him thus:

"*And thou, my son, O Dismissor,¹ give glory to the law, and approach to read the lesson; approach with reverence.*"

To which the congregation replied:

¹ מַפְטִיר, *Maphtir*—so called because he finishes the lesson previous to the dismissal of the congregation.

"Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father; and forsake not the law of thy mother. Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many."

This *Maphtir* was a fine-looking boy, about thirteen years of age, who read the prayer of Habbakuk in Hebrew, with a pathos and beauty which quite astonished me.

The service ended with the repetition of a long metrical prayer; on which the congregation after a few silent aspirations, retired to the outer court where they had left their shoes, and went away with great decorum.

Having addressed one of the Karaim who stood next to me, in Turkish, his countenance which had formerly expressed surprise at my looking over the service-book, now brightened up as if he had discovered a brother; and, after exchanging a few sentences, he introduced me to the Rabbi, who kindly invited me to visit him at his house in the afternoon. I accordingly went at the time appointed, and found his room filled with Karaites of both sexes, who had assembled to listen to our conversation. He gave me a hearty "Come in peace;" and, without reserve, entered into an explanation of the peculiar dogmas of their faith. Instead of manifesting that disquietude which generally seizes the mind of a Rabbinist, the moment the subject of the *Messiah* is introduced, my host discovered no alarm, but assured me that he is the object of their daily expectation. Such passages as I quoted from the Old Testament he explained much in the same way as the more ancient of the Jewish Rabbins, and appeared to have little or no knowledge of the numerous subterfuges to which the modern Talmudists have recourse in controversy with Christians. On my referring to the Hebrew New Testament, a copy of which I intended to present to him, he rose and produced one from his library, which bore evident marks of having been read, and which he handed to the people to read without any reluctance. "They had read," he said, "the accounts it contained respecting Jesus of Nazareth; but they were not convinced that he was the Messiah promised to the fathers."

It was peculiarly interesting to behold a company of the seed of Abraham, listening with deep attention to the discussion of that important subject which their law typified, their prophets predicted, their poets sang, and all the ancient worthies of their nation realized by a believing anticipation; and as I left them, my prayers ascended on their behalf, that as on that blessed day the effusion of the Holy Spirit effected the conversion of three

thousand souls, for a wave offering of first fruits to the Lord—so the general ingathering might speedily commence, and all Israel be saved with an everlasting salvation.

That the Karaim of Poland and the Crimea possessed a Targum, or version of the Old Testament in a Tartar dialect, has long been known to the literary world. Gustavus Peringer not only notices it, but gives a specimen of its manner, consisting of the three first verses of Genesis, in his epistle relative to the affairs of the Karaim in Lithuania, inserted in Tenzel's *Monthly Accounts*, 1691. From this source Wolf derived his information respecting it, which is contained in the fourth volume of his *Bibliothecae Hebraeae*, page 167. It is also referred to by the Swedish traveller, Biörnstahl, in his account of the Karaim inhabiting the village of Haskiöl, near Constantinople, where he was shown a copy of the Pentateuch in the year 1776.¹

Of this version a copy was purchased for the sum of 200 rubles by Dr. Pinkerton, on his visit to Djufut-Kalè, in the year 1816, who forwarded it to Petersburg with a view to its being printed along with the translation of the New Testament made by the Missionaries at Karass. It was, however, deemed advisable by the Committee of the Russian Bible Society, that previous to their undertaking a work of such magnitude, the MS. should be forwarded to Astrakhan, to be examined by the Missionaries resident in that city. It was accordingly submitted to their judgment, and, on its being found to exhibit a dialect of the Tartar very different from any with which they were acquainted, the idea of associating the version with that of the New Testament executed at Karass, was entirely abandoned, and it was resolved, that an edition of the Book of Genesis, with such alterations as the Missionaries might deem proper, should be printed by way of trial.

The MS. is neatly written in the Rabbinical character, with the addition of certain marks and points in connexion with some of the letters, in order to make them suit the Tartar alphabet.

It has been affirmed, that the dialect in which this MS. is written, constitutes what has been termed *Djagatai*, or as the Tartars pronounce it, *Shagaltai*; but the assertion is purely hypothetical, and in perfect contradiction to the united testimony of history and experience. The name *Djagatai* is evidently

¹ Michaelis' *Orient. u. Exeget. Bibliothek*. xv. Theil. p. 93.

derived from one of the sons of Djingis-Khan, who, on the death of his father, obtained, as his share of the Tartar empire, the countries east of the Caspian, known by the names of Transoxiana, Ugoria, Kashgar, Bedakshan, Bukharia, and Balk, and which, by some geographers, have been comprised under the general name of Zagatai; but there never appears to have existed a people to whom this name was exclusively appropriated. Were it a fact that the dialect of the MS. ever formed the language of any nation or tribe to the east of the Caspian, or in central Asia, it would throw great light on the question relative to the ten tribes, as it is incontrovertible that none but Jews ever spoke any such language. The words, indeed, in general, are not Hebrew; but every thing else is. Not only is the same order of the words retained which exists in the original, but every idiom and grammatical form; and every particle of the Hebrew is so rigidly expressed, that with little trouble, the whole might be rendered back again into Hebrew, so as to furnish an exact copy of the exemplar from which it was made. Indeed, its servility is such, that, besides now and then suggesting a proper Tartar word to a translator, it is of no practical use whatever—the Tartar and Hebrew languages differing so entirely in their structure and conformation. It is accordingly found that, though portions of it have been transcribed into Arabic characters, it still remains a sealed book to every Tartar or Turk into whose hands it is put. And even Jews from the west of the Caspian, who speak the Tartar as their vernacular language, are not able to make out its meaning, not being acquainted with the Hebrew—a circumstance which makes it evident that no person who is not conversant with the original language of the Old Testament can possibly understand it.

It is therefore only in a critical point of view that the Karaite MS. can be considered as possessing any value. The rigidity with which sect, for whose use it was made, profess to adhere to the text of Scripture, naturally leads to the conclusion, that it will be found faithfully to exhibit the readings of the manuscript from which it was taken. But even here our expectations are only partially met. For it turns out, on examination, that the translation is not independent, or constructed on any principles of interpretation peculiar to the Karaite school; but that the translator has not unfrequently followed the Chaldee Targums, and those renderings which are to be met with in the Rabbinical commentaries.

ART. III. ON THE ALLEGED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN JAMES II. 14—26, AND PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

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From a very early period it has been frequently remarked, that the purport of James 2 : 14—26, in which a justifying power is attributed to the works of men and not to faith alone, appears to stand in direct opposition to Paul's doctrine respecting *justification by faith*, so strongly enforced by him, particularly in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. It was this appearance, more especially, which cast suspicion even in the ancient church upon the genuineness of the Epistle of James; which has ever occasioned highly unfavourable opinions in regard to it; and which also led Luther to pass upon it the well known severe sentence in his Preface to the Epistles of James and Jude. At all periods, however, the attempt has been made to remove, or at least soften down, the discrepancy between the two apostles;¹ and recently, through the influence of Knapp and Neander in particular,² the opinion has become almost uni-

¹ In the ancient church compare the words of Augustine, for example; *Quaest. Octog. Trium. Quaest. LXXVI.* "Quapropter non sunt sibi contrariae duorum apostolorum sententiae, Pauli et Jacobi, quum dicit unus, justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus, et alius dicit, inanem esse fidem sine operibus; quia ille dicit de operibus, quae fidem praecedunt, iste de iis quae fidem sequuntur; sicut etiam ipse Paulus multis locis ostendit." So, too, the *Conf. Helv. post. c. XV.* "Jacobus loquitur de fide inani et mortua, quam quidam jactabant; ita ille dixit, opera justificare, non contradicens apostolo, alioquin regiciendus, sed ostendens, Abraham vivam et justificantem fidem per opera declaravisse."

² See Knapp, "De dispari formula loquendi, qua Christus, Paulus atque Jacobus de fide et factis disserentes uti sunt," contained in his *Scripta varii argum.* p. 413; and Neander: "Paulus und Jakobus, die Einheit des evangelischen Glaubens in verschiedenen Formen," in his "*Kleine Gelegenheitschriften.*" [Translated in the *Bibl. Repos.* III. p. 189 sq.]

versal, that there exists between them no real discrepancy, and that this appearance of discrepancy is nothing but appearance. This opinion, however, is not so generally received but that there are voices in opposition to it; and of these one of the most weighty is *De Wette's*, who, in his "Einleitung in's N. T." professes to discover an actual discrepancy between Paul and James; while in another place¹ he has endeavoured to show a polemical reference to Paul's Epistles on the part of James. He declares, at the same time, that nothing but sinister motives or preconceived opinions would have induced any to oppose a thing so perfectly plain; and that the polemical character of the passage in James would hardly have been denied, had it not been for the secret wish to do away a contradiction between the apostles. As, therefore, the dispute in regard to this not unimportant part of biblical theology cannot be considered as by any means decided, it may not perhaps be useless to venture another essay in confirmation of the common opinion. Its aim will be, not so much, to present a great deal that is new, as to collect arguments now scattered in various quarters, in order to invalidate, at least in a degree, the opinion of *De Wette*.

To qualify ourselves to judge correctly concerning the contradiction said to exist between the doctrines of Paul and James, we must first comprehend the nature of this discrepancy. This we can best do, if we investigate the import of the passage in question in James, and compare it with the teaching of the apostle Paul relative to the same point.

James expresses fully at the outset, v. 14, the sentiment which he expands in the whole passage, chap. 2: 14—26, in saying that 'faith without works profits nothing, and therefore cannot save a man.' From the antithesis between *πίστις* and *ἔργα* here presented, it is clear that by *πίστις* in this passage nothing more is meant than a barely external acknowledgment, a mere historical belief in revealed truth, an empty Lord, Lord! which wholly wants the confirmation of a holy life and a conduct acceptable to God. It is well to remark further, how evident it is from the form of speech, *ἐὰν πίστιν λέγῃ τις ἔχειν*, that James is here opposing men who boasted of their *πίστις*, although they were without *ἔργα*, and that the sense just assigned to *πίστις* in this passage, (whether correct or incorrect we will not now decide,) is the same as that which was affixed to the

¹ Theol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1830, 2tes Heft.

word by the readers of the Epistle.—*Σωζέσθαι* is here employed with its usual pregnant meaning, according to which it signifies ‘to obtain eternal life, the eternal happiness promised us by Christ.’

In v. 15—17 the apostle presents an example in support of his position, by which to show that faith without works, such as that which the readers of his Epistle were wont to boast, wanted true life in itself, and therefore could not vivify and save mankind. As the simple assurance of one’s compassion towards those in distress, without actual alleviation of their necessities, is but a tissue of vain, unmeaning, inoperative words, so (v. 17) faith without works is dead in itself, i. e. is perfectly empty and inane, has no life in itself, and can therefore impart no saving efficacy.

In v. 18—23, James uses the form of a dialogue; for with the words *ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τις*, ‘but some one may justly say,’ he introduces a person defending real faith in his sense of the word against a hypocrite, such as we have described above. This dialogue is perceptible from the forms in the singular, *σὺ ἔχεις* v. 18, *σὺ πιστεύεις* v. 19, *θέλεις* v. 20, *βλέπεις* v. 22; while in v. 24, the plural form recurs, *οἱ πάντες*.

The speaker first reminds those hypocrites, v. 18, that they could never convince any one of the reality of their faith by boasting of it, so long as they exhibited no works; because a dead faith, as such, can have no existence to others, being wanting entirely in a criterion from which its existence may be inferred; while on the contrary, a real, active faith may be known directly from the works which proceed from it.—But supposing, he continues, you really have the faith in religious truths which you pretend and avow with your lips, and yet do not permit it to have any influence over your life, but, on the contrary, lead a dissolute and disreputable life, you can reap no advantage from it, since you cannot obtain eternal life by it. *Μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σωσαι ὑμᾶς*, v. 14.—This the apostle illustrates, v. 19, by a very apt example, viz. Even the devils believe in the truth, that there is one God; but instead of securing eternal life, they rather live in constant terror and misery, because they do not live in conformity with this belief.

In v. 20 James prepares to demonstrate his position that faith without works has no power unto salvation, in a manner which would be peculiarly forcible to Jewish Christians.—The epithet, *κενὴ*, seems to refer to that ostentatious boasting which, however

much it may assume, is really empty and vain. Comp. 1 Cor. 13: 1.—*Νεκρά* has here a somewhat different sense from *νεκρά καθ' ἑαυτήν* in v. 17. What is *dead* no longer exists *as that which it once was*, and so far is a nonentity. In this sense it was said before of faith without works, that it was dead in itself. What is dead, too, is no longer capable of exercising the functions which it once exercised, and is therefore *inactive, inefficacious*. In this sense particularly, is it used here, 'faith without works is dead.' Now as the effect of true faith is said to be eternal salvation, this is equivalent to saying, 'faith without works cannot procure a man eternal salvation'—*οὐ δύναται σωσαι αὐτόν*, v. 14.

This point the apostle aims to prove by the example of Abraham, v. 21—23. We have here the expressions *δικαιούσθαι* v. 21, and from the Septuagint version *ἐλογίσθη εἰς δικαιούσιν*, v. 23. An inquiry arises what relation these bear to the word *σώζεσθαι* used before? James himself explains these expressions in v. 23, by adding, *καὶ φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη*. Hence, an *ἄνθρωπος δικαιωθείς* is, according to him, one who has gained the favour of God, who thus stands in a right relation to God, and is capable of being saved, *σώζεσθαι*. *Δικαιούσθαι* is therefore the antecedent of *σώζεσθαι*, and is related to it as the moving cause is to the consequence. It is then of no essential importance that James uses these words interchangeably.—He now proceeds to show that even Abraham, although in Gen. 15: 6 it is said that his faith was counted to him for righteousness, was yet justified on account of his works. The course he takes to prove this is the following. He first, v. 21, introduces the position to be proved, viz. that Abraham was justified by his works, and this because he showed himself ready to sacrifice his son, as had been enjoined upon him, the son upon whom rested the divine promise of a numerous posterity. Hence it appears, v. 22, that the faith of Abraham was an active operative faith, and consequently not *νεκρά*, since it exhibited itself in works and wrought with his works, *ὅτι ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ*, and that it was a true and perfect faith, and not *νεκρά καθ' ἑαυτήν*, because it consisted of the two parts, feeling and action, *ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη*. Thus the true *πίστις* (in the sense of James) consists of two parts, the *πίστις* in the stricter sense, such as was boasted by the readers of the Epistle, the firm, internal conviction of divine truth; and the *ἔργα*, as the necessary complement of the proper *πίστις*. In Abraham both were

united; he possessed true, perfect faith. Consequently, James means to say, the position in v. 21 does not at all contradict Scripture, (*καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφή* v. 23,) which makes Abraham's justification to depend upon his faith. For it there speaks of true faith, so far as it is proved to be such by *ἔργα*. The apostle's conclusion deduced regularly would run thus: Scripture makes the justification of Abraham to depend upon his faith. Now the faith of Abraham was a perfect and efficacious faith, inasmuch as it exhibited itself by works. Hence it is not anti-scriptural to maintain that Abraham was justified by his works; since it was these which proved his faith to be sincere. Consequently, (concludes James in v. 24, where he again speaks in his own person,) a man is justified by his works, and not by a mere feeling of faith.

In confirmation of this position the apostle further cites, in v. 25, the example of the harlot Rahab. It is related in Josh. 2: 1 sq. and 6: 17 sq. that the harlot Rahab, having harboured the spies sent by Joshua before the siege of Jericho, and preserved them from the search of the king of Jericho, and aided them in their escape, from the conviction that the Israelites, in whom God had so often and so miraculously glorified himself, would take the city, was pardoned by Joshua for this important service, and spared with her whole family in the general destruction of the city. Rahab also, James means to say, would not have been delivered at the destruction of Jericho, had her faith that God would give the city into the hands of the Israelites been a dead faith, had it not been active in the harbouring and subsequent safe dismissal of the Israelitish spies.

In conclusion there follows, v. 26, a comparison: "As the body without the soul is dead, so also is faith without works." A faith that wants the internal moving principle which produces works is no faith at all—is nothing: just as a soulless body which likewise has no life in it, is also nothing.

On the other hand, Paul maintains in many passages that it is not by works man is justified before God, but by faith in Jesus Christ, (see Rom. 3: 20, 21, 28. Gal. 2: 16,) on account of which God of his *mercy* grants us salvation, not because of our merits, Eph. 2: 8, 9. Abraham also was justified before God not on account of his desert, but from the free motion of divine grace, which he obtained by his *faith*, as the Scriptures declare. Gen. 15: 6. See Rom. 4: 1 sq. Gal. 3: 6 sq.

There are two questions, now, which press themselves upon us in this comparison of the doctrine of James with that of Paul: I. Are there any indications in this passage of James, or in the Epistle at large, which make it necessary to suppose a *direct polemical reference* to the doctrine of Paul? II. In case this question be answered in the negative, is there in fact *real discrepancy* between the two apostles, or is it only *apparent*?

From even a cursory consideration of the passage in James, it will be easy to perceive, it is said, along with the most decided opposition in the thoughts, a great and striking resemblance to the words and turns of expression of the apostle Paul. James says 2: 24, Ὁρᾷτε ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦνται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον. Paul says on the other hand, Rom. 3: 28, Λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον, χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου. Comp. further James 2: 17, 25, with Rom. 3: 20 Gal. 2: 16. James says 2: 21, Ἀβραάμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη; Paul, on the other hand, Rom. 4: 1, Τί οὖν σάρα: Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη.—In the passages just cited, James makes use of the expression δικαιοῦσθαι, even in connexion with the words ἐκ πίστεως, ἐξ ἔργων, a mode of expression, which is peculiar to the apostle Paul, and is elsewhere found in this sense only in Luke who was so intimate with Paul. Further, James refers, 2: 21 sq. to the example of Abraham, Gen. 15: 6. So also Paul, Rom. 4: 1 sq. Gal. 3: 6 sq. James likewise, 2: 25, applies to his purpose the remarkable example of the harlot Rahab, a very equivocal person, and who besides is nowhere else in Scripture held up, like Abraham, as an example of faith. Now this circumstance may be well explained, it is said, by supposing that James was induced to cite this singular example by the passage in Heb. 11: 31, where the writer (who if not Paul himself, was yet some one very familiar with Paul's doctrines) is led by his peculiar train of thought to present Rahab as a heroine of faith. Such, very nearly, is De Wette's representation.

Taking all this together, the supposition is certainly natural, it is said, that James had reference to the doctrine of the apostle Paul; and as at all events James was opposing an error, the inference seems to be authorized, that a polemical reference on the part of James to the doctrine of Paul must be admitted. To this is to be added, it is further said, that throughout the whole Epistle of James a multitude more of allusions to Pauline passa-

ges and expressions have been discovered,¹ and that the disciples of James in Antioch, generally appear as the opposers of Paul's principles, Gal. 2 : 12—16.²

Yet all these appearances may be satisfactorily explained, without the necessity of supposing an intentional direct reference to Paul on the part of James. That James was in fact acquainted with Paul's Epistles, and intended to combat them in his own Epistle, is a position which it would be difficult to defend. For, although sometimes, as is clear from Col. 4 : 16 and 1 Thess. 5 : 27, the Epistles of Paul were communicated to all the members of the church and even to other churches; yet the circumstance that Paul in these passages desires a more extended communication of his letter, and the manner in which he requests it, show that this was not customary; so that it is not easy to conceive how James, who was constantly resident in Jerusalem, could have obtained a sight of these Epistles of the apostle of the Gentiles. In speaking, therefore, of a polemical reference on the part of James to the doctrines of Paul, we are to understand by them the peculiar doctrines of the apostle which he taught orally in his apostolical labours, and with which James might very easily have become acquainted.—But even in this sense the supposition of a direct controversy between the two apostles, will prove to be by no means necessary; as we shall attempt to show by a particular examination of the reasons adduced in support of it.

As to the circumstance that the two apostles concur in appealing to the example of Abraham, it will not appear surprising, if it be considered with what national pride the Jews regarded their ancestor, and that they were wont in all cases to refer to Abraham as their model. And it was precisely his inflexible confidence in God, and his religious life, referred to by both Paul and James, for which he was elsewhere also extolled among the Jews. This pre-eminence of Abraham is celebrated in Heb. 11 : 8; and also in Eccus. 44 : 20, where it is said : Συνετήρησεν (Ἀβραάμ) νόμον ὑψίστου, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν διαθήκῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ ἔστῃσε διαθήκην, καὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ ἐυρίθη πιστός.

¹ See Pott's *Prolegg. in Epp. Cathol.* p. 36. Hug's *Einleit. ins N. T.* Th. II. p. 514. 3d. ed. Schott's *Isagoge Hist. Crit. in libros N. T.* § 91. note 20.

² Comp. Augusti's *Version of the cath. Epp. with Excursus and introductory Essays*, and De Wette's *Einleit. ins N. T.* p. 317, 2d ed. Vol. IV. No. 16. 88

Thus too the dying Mattathias, 1 Macc. 2 : 52, pointed his sons to the example of Abraham with the words : *Ἀβραάμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ ἐνέρεθῃ πιστὸς καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην* ; Lastly Abraham is thus represented as a hero of faith by Philo the Alexandrian, in his work : *Quis rerum divinarum hæres?* p. 493. Ed. Frankfort.

The citation of the example of Rahab seems more to imply a reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and thus indirectly to the doctrines of Paul. The question here arises, Whence this strange and far-fetched example? How comes it that the apostle should present so equivocal a person as a pattern of active faith, worthy of imitation? De Wette says : This example is so remarkable, that its citation by James cannot be accounted for without supposing him to have borrowed it from the Epistle to the Hebrews, or possibly from the oral discourses of Paul ; in which, however, if it occurred there at all, it must have been derived from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

But a great deal may, nevertheless, be urged against this opinion. In the first place, it is clear from the nature of the case that the story of Rahab must have had at that time among the Jews a certain degree of celebrity. Otherwise, how should James have mentioned it in connexion with the universally known story of Abraham? How could he, to accomplish his object, appeal to an example which was obscure and known only to a few? If it be assumed that the story of Rahab first obtained this celebrity by means of the epistle to Hebrews, it is then taken for granted that the Epistle to the Hebrews was composed a considerable time before the Epistle of James. Otherwise, the example of Rahab could not have obtained extensive celebrity in the course of oral instruction, nor have been adopted in the epistle of James. This however is a supposition which stands very much in need of strict proof.

But, granting that the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews did precede, by a considerable period, that of the Epistle of James, little is gained by the admission. We can hardly discern, indeed, any occasion why James should cite this example after the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. If he desired to show the accordance of his own doctrine with the purport of the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, this example could do no such thing, because the word *faith* is used in a different signification, denoting a conviction of the reality of things beyond the senses ; while in the Epistle of James that faith is spoken of which is the internal vivifying principle of the Christian. If he desired

by citing this example to controvert the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he failed entirely; for even the latter speaks of an operative faith, adducing (v. 31) as proof of Rahab's faith, that she received the spies of the Israelites with peace.

And then the question may be justly put: Why did James select from the passage in Hebrews just this unfamiliar and singular example, while it afforded him so many which are familiar and wholly to the point? No other reason can be assigned than the same which must have induced the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to cite it, viz. that it seemed well adapted to his purpose; and thus it would be no more strange in the case of James, that he should have fallen upon this example of Rahab, than it is in the case of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

If now we may infer from the use which is made of the story of Rahab, both by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and by James, that it must have acquired a particular celebrity among the Jews of that day—which moreover is by no means strange in respect to an important occurrence in the heroic period of the history of the Israelites—we cannot doubt, also, that the use of this story on the part of the apostle at that time, would appear not at all remarkable or unpleasant, as perhaps it might appear to us now. Comp. the commentators on Hebrews, l. c. The only remaining inquiry then is, whether there be not something in the story itself, which makes the independent citation of it by James for his purpose intelligible or probable? And certainly the apostle could hardly have adduced an example better fitted to show that man is justified by works, than this of the harlot Rahab, a Gentile, of whom no one could assert that she was distinguished by any remarkable faith, and was saved on that account;¹ as might have been objected to the example of Abraham. And this example of Rahab appears to have been chosen in contrast to that of Abraham; as is denoted, too, by the mode of transition, v. 25 *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ*, these particles having an intensive signification, *in like manner also even, or, not only so but even, etc.*

It remains only to speak of De Wette's remark, that James has used in this passage exactly Paul's expressions: *δικαιοῦνθαι ἐκ πίστεως, ἐξ ἔργων*. Admitting it to be true that these expressions are peculiar to Paul, yet James may have been led to em-

¹ The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews could do this only from the general comprehensive idea which he affixed to the word *πίστις*.

ploy them here by the passage in Gen. 15:6 which he cites; where the Hebrew words, *וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לִי צְדָקָה*, are translated in the Alexandrian version by *ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην*. This remark appears to be confirmed by the circumstance, that James does not use the expression before the mention of the example of Abraham. He uses instead, v. 14, *σῶσαι*, and in v. 17 and 20, *ἡ πίστις νεκρά ἐστίν*, instead of saying as in v. 24, *οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον ἄνθρωπος δικαιούται*. He first uses the word *δικαιούν* in v. 21, doubtless because the passage which he is about to quote, is in his mind. Nevertheless, as James still uses this word in speaking of Rahab, when there was no further occasion for it, and also connects with it the words *ἐκ πίστεως* and *ἐξ ἔργων*, it is possible that he continues to employ it in v. 24 sq. as an expression made current especially by Paul, and generally intelligible. And, indeed, there is nothing strange in this. For since Paul was regarded as the first and principal of the apostles, both on account of the extent of his sphere of labour, and the great success of his exertions in the ministry, it was natural that the disciples and the other evangelists should endeavour to form themselves upon his model, and use the phraseology he employed; and that there should in general arise a Pauline type or model of teaching, which was followed by the apostles without any intention or even consciousness on their part. This Knapp also endeavours to render probable, l. c. p. 444.

This observation suffices, also, to explain fully the agreement of several ideas and turns of expression in James with those of Paul, of which we have before spoken. It is in general very hazardous to refer such resemblances between two writings to a direct dependence of the one upon the other. In the second Epistle of Peter, (or whoever may have been the author,) there are many passages—more indeed than in the Epistle of James—which have the greatest resemblance to passages in Paul's writings; and probably many other examples of the kind might easily be found. Schott also remarks, that in this instance we are by no means to infer from the mutual agreement of the two apostles, that James intentionally imitated Paul. *Isagog.* l. c.

"But we see from Gal. 2:11—16, that Paul blames Peter, and contradicts his principles, as to the obligation of the Jewish ceremonial law upon Gentile Christians. Now that Peter's sentiments were those of the persons sent by James to Antioch Gal. 2:12, is clear, from the fact that on their arrival he changed his conduct towards the Gentile Christians, and on this

very account fell into controversy with Paul. Hence it follows, that the principles of James himself were opposed to those of Paul; and that it is consistent and natural to assume in the case before us a controversial relation between the two apostles." Thus Augusti and De Wette ll. cc. Now even admitting the soundness of these premises, yet the conclusion, that because the principles of Paul conflicted with those of the disciples of James, they were also in conflict with those of James himself, seems much too precipitate and hazardous. But much may also be objected to the premises. In the first place, the question arises, Were the *τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, Gal. 2: 12, really *disciples* of James? This is not asserted in the expression used, considered in itself; and it is very probable, as is observed by Winer, in his commentary on Gal. l. c. that these *τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* belonged to the sect of the rigid Jewish Christians, who are mentioned in Acts 15: 1 sq. 21: 20 sq. and that they were the same whom Paul denominates *κατασκοποῦντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*, Gal. 2: 4. The same opinion is maintained by Knapp, (p. 451. Bibl. Repos. III. p. 218,) who explains the phrase *τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* as meaning certain persons who were merely messengers of James, or occupants of the same house with him, or members of the church of which James was then the head at Jerusalem. But although this cannot be maintained with absolute certainty, so much at least is clear, viz. that we can by no means infer from Gal. 2: 12 sq. that there was any difference between the doctrines of Paul and Peter, or that there was an agreement between Peter and the messengers of James. Peter is not rebuked by Paul for entertaining a different opinion from his own in regard to the obligation of the Mosaic ceremonial law upon Gentile Christians; but because, too indulgent towards the weak, he had favoured their errors and prejudices contrary to his own conviction, and had thus brought a stain on his own integrity. That Peter in his conduct had really belied his own conviction, and that he agreed with Paul as to the point in question, is evident from the plural form, *εὐδόκεις*, which Paul uses in his reprimand of Peter, v. 16. Besides, it is scarcely conceivable, that men who, in the apostolical council at Jerusalem, declared so decidedly in favour of freeing the Gentiles from the burden of the Mosaic ceremonial law as had Peter and James, should have veered suddenly round to the opposite opinion. See Acts 15: 6 sq. espec. v. 10, 11, 19.

The conclusion from all which has been hitherto said is, that

the remarkable appearances which present themselves on comparing the passage in question with the doctrine of Paul, by no means require the assumption of a designed reference to Paul on the part of James, yea, that such a reference is not even probable; but that all these appearances can be satisfactorily accounted for in another way. Hence, if James has in fact contradicted Paul, it must have been without design and accidentally.

This now is just our *second* question, viz. Whether James does really contradict Paul, or whether this is only apparently the case? We may now attempt to answer this question with freedom, without incurring the reproach of following a preconceived opinion; since we have shown by the previous investigation, that no scientific difficulty can any further lie in our way.

But there is certainly also a positive reason, why we should endeavour to harmonize the doctrines of the two apostles. For if James, in opposition to Paul, made the justification of man to depend on his works alone,¹ he would assert what, as De Wette rightly remarks, would be utterly false and dangerous to good morals; because the works of men can never constitute a claim to the divine favour, and because such a position would give support to every species of hypocrisy. The controversy of James with Paul, therefore, would be a total failure, and so unworthy of an apostle that, with De Wette,² we might reasonably doubt, whether James were really the author of the Epistle current under his name. This doubt would vanish, and James, who throughout the rest of the Epistle exhibits himself as so enlightened and so thoroughly imbued with the Christian spirit, would be exempted from the suspicion of a gross absurdity, if it can be shown that the discrepancy between him and Paul is only apparent.

In order to prove this, two principal methods have been adopted. The first is, to argue that the three words *πίστις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἔργα*, have an entirely different signification with James, from that which they have with Paul. *Πίστις*, it is

¹ That James does not, as De Wette asserts, contradict the doctrine of Paul in making the justification of men dependent upon works and faith together, is shown hereafter.

² Einleit. in's N. Test. p. 317.

said, always denotes with Paul the internal principle of christian life, which, being a confident reliance on God and Jesus who has rescued us from sin and misery by his death, must be in itself living and productive, and exhibit itself in the whole life. Hence Paul could not possibly speak of a dead faith, in this sense, because he regarded faith only as always operative. It is otherwise with James. He understands by *πίστις* only an historical assent to the christian doctrines. *δικαιοσύνη*, which with Paul denotes the condition or state of justification, in which man, saved by faith in Jesus from eternal punishment for his sins, has the hope of eternal happiness, signifies with James merely a condition in which man has rendered himself worthy of the complacency of God and is loaded by him with blessings and benefits. Lastly, *ἔργα*, used alone, always signifies with Paul *ἔργα νόμου*; with James, on the other hand, *ἔργα πίστεως*, i. e. true virtue.¹

But the correctness of this view, thus generally presented, is very doubtful. First, as to the word *πίστις*. It is indeed true that in James 2 : 14–22, it cannot be understood otherwise than in the sense thus assigned; but, on account of the polemical character of the passage, we cannot thence infer, that James himself affixed this idea to the word. And, indeed, the other passages in his Epistle in which he employs the word *πίστις*, show that he understood it in the correct sense. In two passages, 1 : 6. 5 : 15, *πίστις* can, it is true, be taken only in its general signification, viz. a fixed confidence in God, by which we are convinced of his almighty power, through which, in conformity with his wisdom and goodness, he blesses us with great and unexpected benefits—a meaning, not unknown, to say the least, to Paul; see Col. 2 : 12. With Paul, moreover, *πίστις* sometimes signifies in general the subjective religion, the religiousness of the Christian, inasmuch as this is founded on a firm and active faith in Christ; comp. 1 Cor. 16 : 13. 2 Cor. 1 : 24. Gal. 6 : 10. So James uses this word in 1 : 3, where the meaning, *confidence in God*, is too confined; also in 2 : 1, where

¹ Thus particularly, C. C. Tittmann: "Sententia Jacobi apostoli c. 2, de fide, operibus et justificatione," in his *Opusc.* p. 253. Also Usteri: *Entwicklung des paulinischen Lehrbegriffs*, p. 94. 2d ed. who, however, supposes a distinction between the two apostles only in respect to *πίστις* and *ἔργα*. Baumgarten-Crusius, *Bibl. Theol.* p. 434 etc.

the sense of *πίστις* is determined with sufficient clearness by the addition *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, (Rom. 3: 22, 26,) and in 2: 5 where *πίστις*, in distinction from *κόσμος*, denotes the religious sense as directed to what is elevated and divine. Even in the passages particularly under consideration, it is clear that the two apostles have essentially the same idea of *πίστις*. For James, 2: 22, in speaking of the faith of Abraham, describes it as consisting of feeling and action; precisely like Paul in Rom. 4: 1 sq.¹

The opinion, too, that the word *δικαιοσύνη* has a different sense in the two apostles, can hardly be justified. *Δικαιοσύνη* denotes in general the state of a man who stands in a right relation to God. This state, according to Paul, is conditioned on the *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Now, as he who stands in the right relation to God, must necessarily enjoy the favour of God, and this again is inseparably connected with salvation and happiness, so *δικαιοσύνη* in its turn appears as the condition of *ζωή* and *σωτηρία*. Comp. Rom. 1: 16, 17. Eph 2: 8. Tit. 3: 7. Rom. 5: 9, 17. Just so James makes *σωτηρία* dependent upon *πίστις*, 2: 14, omitting the intermediate idea of *δικαιοσύνη*. The word *σώζεσθαι*, 2: 14, for which in 1: 25 stand the words *μακάριον εἶναι*, he afterwards exchanges for *δικαιούσθαι*, thus putting the ground or motive for the consequence; exactly as Paul also uses these two expressions promiscuously, whenever he passes over—as he often does, after the example of the Gospels²—the intermediate *δικαιοσύνη*, and makes *ζωή* or *σωτηρία* directly dependent on *πίστις*. Compare Eph. 2: 8, and Gal. 3: 9, where on occasion of citing the passage Gen. 12: 3, he uses the word *εὐλογεῖσθαι*. Hence it is not to be wondered at that both apostles should agree in applying the word *δικαιούσθαι* to Abraham according to Gen. 15: 6.

It is however doubtless true, in regard to the word *ἔργα*, that there is a difference between the two apostles; James meaning only the *ἔργα πίστεως*, when he makes *δικαιοσύνη* to depend upon them; and Paul the *ἔργα νόμου*, when he denies them any justifying power.

De Wette objects, that Paul manifestly denies justifying power even to the *ἔργα πίστεως*, because, though Abraham was not acquainted with any law, and therefore could not perform the

¹ Comp. the remarks above in regard to the passage adduced p. 686.

² See Usteri p. 96 sq.

works of the law, yet the apostle says of him even, that he was not justified by works; Rom. 4: 1 sq. But against this it may be observed, that the signification of νόμος with Paul is much more extensive; that it denotes not only the Mosaic law, but in general any moral obligation pressing upon man from without, which does not spring from an internal religious principle of faith. On the other hand, when Paul speaks of the effects of a real active faith, he either uses the word ἀγάπη, 1 Cor. c. 13, or he adds something to the word ἔργα, as ἀγαθὰ, καλὰ, etc. Rom. 2: 7, 10. Eph. 2: 10.¹

The second method which may be adopted to reconcile the discrepancy between the two Apostles, and which has been followed by Knapp and Neander among others, is to show that from the different positions both of the apostles themselves and of those to whom they directed their Epistles, the apostles, in their instructions, must have set out from an entirely different point of view; and the Epistles, therefore, out of reference to the peculiar wants of their readers, must have been written in a very different style and manner. In this way we shall certainly become convinced, that the expressions in question of the two apostles, cannot with any propriety be compared together; that, as no entire agreement can be proved, so no discrepancy can be made out between them; and that it would have been difficult even to have supposed any discrepancy, had not single clauses in James been considered out of their connexion, and, in consequence of the external form of his language, a direct controversy with Paul been taken for granted.

The appearance of Jesus upon earth effected a new creation. Christianity entered the world with the great truth, that "God is a Spirit and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth." It showed how God, of his infinite love had sent his Son into the world, that *all* who believe on him, might not perish, but have eternal life. Hence it made faith in Jesus, the Son of God, a condition of salvation; and this faith in Jesus, by the spiritual regeneration of man, by the renunciation of the old Adam or the condition of sin and ruin, was exalted to become the true sole principle of life in man; from which were to flow the works of love and piety, and consequently peace and happiness in the

¹ See Knapp's *Prolusio* in *loc. Rom. VII. 21*, in his *Scripta var. arg.* p. 394 sq. Usteri, p. 25 sq.

heart; and by which a new man was created who would live forever in holiness and purity before God. In this way Christianity came at once in conflict with the Mosaic offerings and ceremonial observances, with the whole of Gentile idol-worship, with all the Pharisaic-Jewish particularities, and with all mere external sanctity. The first who clearly perceived this, and felt it to the bottom of his heart, was the apostle Paul, who plainly declared that Judaism and Christianity were related to each other as the flesh and spirit, as the shadow and substance, as the imperfect type and the pure and perfect archetype. Paul sets out with the position, that Judaism makes the justification and with it the salvation of man to depend upon his *merits*, acquired by the observance of the law. Moses says: *Do this and thou shalt live*; Rom. 10: 5. Gal. 3: 12. But, says Paul, the perfect observance of the law by man is not possible, on account of his sinful nature, which perpetually hinders his doing well; Rom. 7: 18 sq. Experience also shows, that all, both Jews and Gentiles, are subject to sin; Rom. 2: 23 sq. 3: 9 sq. Consequently man cannot in this way obtain salvation; but, on the contrary, he first comes by the law to a consciousness of his sinfulness, and thus it adds to his misery; Rom. 3: 20. Gal. 3: 10. Further, it is impossible that man should have merit with God for which he can demand a *recompense*, Rom. 4: 4;—and hence it is a vain fancy in the Jews, to imagine that they stand in peculiar favour with God, as the descendants of Abraham, the heirs of the promises and possessors of the law; Rom. c. 2 —3: 9. 9: 6. On the contrary, man, as Christianity teaches us, is justified before God solely by his grace, without the law. Access to this divine grace is obtained by man through faith in Jesus Christ, particularly through faith in his atoning death; since God, for the sake of his Son, graciously receives us and bestows salvation upon us; Rom. 3: 21—25. Eph. 2: 8. Hence, as we are thus justified before God solely by his grace, and therefore cannot *merit* justification, it is plain that we are not justified by any *mere works*, whether works of the law or any other to which we are impelled by any external moral *obligation*; but that this can only happen through our *faith*, our entire and confiding devotion to Christ, which, elevated to become our internal principle of life, must be the occasion and motive of all our actions; and these then through this faith become works of love; Rom. 3: 20, 28. 4: 1 sq. Paul further shows how false was the Jewish idea, that the law was a suf-

ficient means for the justification and acceptance of man before God; and how objectionable therefore was the earnest endeavour of the Jewish Christians, to obtain a place for the Mosaic law by the side of the Gospel, as such a means of justification.

The disposition and conduct which James supposes in his readers are totally different. He contends, from 1 : 22 onward against that hypocritical sanctity, which pleases itself with the idea of gaining the appearance of virtue and holiness by ostentation and boasting, without any effort that the actions and the entire life should accord with this hypocritical language. He first speaks against such as ascribed too great an importance to a minute knowledge of the law, and who gladly gave themselves the appearance of being the most zealous observers of the law, 1 : 26, while they did not in any degree confirm and certify this professed pious disposition by their works; these persons the apostle exhorts to the strictest actual fulfilment of the law; 1 : 22—2 : 13. Comp. 3 : 13. Men who possessed such a hypocritical sanctity, must naturally find out food for their errors in Christianity. They saw in it only an institution which guided men to salvation by the revelation of divine truths; and they therefore believed, that in order to obtain the salvation promised by Christ, it was sufficient to confess those sublime truths externally, with the mouth only, and that real holiness of life was not essential. Hence they might frequently with vain self-complacency boast of their enlightened religious faith, without permitting it to exercise any influence over their life. It was in opposition to such, that James declared: Faith without works cannot save, for it is inactive and dead; 2 : 14—26.

Further, it is not to be wondered at, that persons who fancied they had acquired an accurate knowledge of these high revealed truths, should consider themselves as perfect Christians, and in their vanity assume to be teachers, in order to bring others also up to their supposed lofty point of Christian perfection—an error which is exposed by James in c. 3; comp. also 1 : 19.

What we must here particularly observe, is the declaration in 2 : 14—26, that man is justified by works and not by faith only; a declaration which, when considered in the specified connexion, must assuredly be acknowledged as correct. It is only the form and costume of the idea which give it even the appearance of contradicting Paul's doctrine. James might, indeed, have so arranged his discourse, as to show his readers in a strictly systematic deduction, by means of a definition of *faith*, that faith

without works did not merit the name, and that they had formed a totally erroneous idea of faith. But instead of this he chooses the much more practical and efficacious method, of not expressly correcting the false notion which his readers had of the word faith, but of accommodating himself to their mode of thinking, and only exhorting them, with reference to their peculiar conceptions, to take care that their faith was not destitute of works.

That Paul, moreover, in making justification dependent upon faith, did not mean a merely dead faith, but an active one; and that he thus makes justification to depend upon faith and works together, is clear from Rom. 2: 13 sq. and many passages in which he speaks of a faith working by love, as Gal. 5: 6. 1 Cor. 13: 2. 1 Thess. 1: 3. 2 Thess. 1: 3. Col. 1: 4. Eph. 1: 15. 3: 17. 4: 13, 15. 6: 23. On the other hand, James is far from upholding a justification by mere works, against which Paul warns so earnestly. He ascribes to *πίστις* likewise a share in justification—*οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον*, v. 24. He presses upon Christians the internal pious feeling, from which should spring the observance of the law, in calling Christianity, 1: 25, the more perfect law of liberty, in opposition to the Mosaic law which keeps men in the bondage of sin and guilt. He likewise declares the Mosaic law to fall short of justifying men, by saying that he who fails in *one* commandment fails in all, and no man can keep the whole law. He therefore requires men "to conduct as those who are judged by the law of liberty, i. e. who being sure of the forgiveness of their sins, have no longer to fear the condemnation of the law, so long as they persevere in a life of faith, and continue to possess true *Christian feeling*."¹

Lastly, it thus can also easily be shown, that there exists no discrepancy between the two apostles, in regard to the citation of the example of Abraham. The Jews prided themselves much on their descent from Abraham, by whom God had introduced circumcision, and to whom he had given the promises. They imagined, therefore, that, as descendants of Abraham, they became heirs of the promises through circumcision, one of the works of the law. In opposition to this idea, Paul asserts, that Abraham's merit consisted in the pious feeling of confidence in God from which his works sprang, and to prove this lays great stress on the expression *ἐπιστάς*, Gen. 15: 6. James, on the

¹ Neander, p. 35.

other hand, wishes to reprove his readers for boasting of their dead faith. He therefore directs their attention to Abraham, and shows them how it was reckoned to him for righteousness, that he *acted*, and performed the *works* of faith, under the guidance of pious feeling and confidence in God. He does not say that the faith of Abraham was useless towards his justification, but that his faith wrought in conjunction with his works, and on this account was a true and perfect faith; 2: 22. In a similar manner, in the passages above cited from Sirach and Maccabees, the favour of God enjoyed by Abraham is ascribed to the fact, that he kept the law and was found faithful in the hour of trial. It cannot, then, be remarkable that James should refer to a particular example of this nature, the offering up his son, Gen. c. 22, which it is true, took place after he had received the divine promise, Gen. 15: 5.

It is usual in investigating this subject to start the further question, Whence arose the misapprehension of James' readers—for a misapprehension must it ever be—which induced them to place the essence of Christianity in an external *profession*, and the external maintenance of a *system of doctrines*? This is a question to which we can hardly venture a decided reply, as only suppositions more or less probable can be made in regard to it. We must, however, for the sake of completeness, add a few words concerning it.

We have endeavoured to show above that a *direct* polemical reference to Paul on the part of James is wholly improbable. But this is not denying that there may have been an *indirect* controversy between the two apostles. For it is supposable that the Jewish Christians to whom James wrote, falsely apprehended the doctrine of Paul, and thus James controverts Paul, not as *he* understood him, but merely as his readers understood him. In this way we can easily account for the mutual agreement of the two apostles in their phraseology and turns of expression.¹—This is certainly possible in itself. James wrote to the twelve tribes scattered abroad, i. e. to all the Jewish Christians out of Palestine. The countries, however, in which the Jews were scattered, were chiefly Asia Minor, *διασπορά Ἀσίας*, 1 Pet. 1: 1, and the parts of Africa and Europe which might be called Grecian countries, *διασπορά Ἑλληνισμῶν*, John 7: 35, with their

¹ So Hug in his *Einheit. ins N. Test.* p. 538. Th. II.

central point Alexandria. Now Asia Minor and Europe were the principal theatre of the apostolic labours of Paul, so that the greater portion of the dispersed Jews might have heard his preaching and might have misapprehended it.—Neander's objection, that in this case James should have given the true meaning of Paul's doctrine, in order not to seem to charge upon Paul himself the errors he was combating, may perhaps be obviated by supposing James to have treated the fact of a misapprehension of the doctrine of Paul among his readers, as a fact; without noticing and even without knowing its origin.

But it is certainly much more natural to suppose here a misapprehension of Christianity itself, which is seated deep in human nature and particularly in the carnal mode of thinking among the Jews; especially because, as Neander aptly observes, it is hardly to be imagined that Paul's doctrine in a misapprehended form should have been widely adopted, particularly among the Jewish Christians, among whom Paul's doctrines generally met least of all with a favourable reception. Such a depreciation of active Christianity would with much more probability have fallen in with an Antinomian tendency in the mind of the Gentiles; and such indeed appears sometimes to have been the fact; comp. Acts 21 : 21 sq.

The contents of the Epistle of James in general likewise favour this supposition. Were we desirous of forming, out of the particular traces we find in this Epistle, a definite picture of the condition of some individual christian church to which the whole of the Epistle was applicable, the attempt would hardly be successful. The Epistle has a wholly general character; the exhortations and warnings it contains are mostly general and unconnected, being arranged together without any perceptible points of transition. We cannot properly wonder at this general nature of the Epistle, inasmuch as James presupposes so large a class of persons to be the readers of it; 1 : 1. We cannot here expect instructions or warnings occasioned by special emergencies, but must anticipate that all the Epistle contained, would be of general application. Accordingly, we must not look in the passage under consideration, for any censure of a misapprehension of the doctrine of Paul, which could be charged against Jewish christians in any place; but for censure upon a misapprehension of christian principles in general, such as was everywhere possible from the predominant mode of thinking among the Jews as a people, and was perhaps actual in the

church at Jerusalem over which James presided. Indeed, this is a misapprehension which appears at all periods in the history of the christian church.

In every pious and uncorrupted mind there must exist a strong feeling of the need of atonement, and an ardent desire of reconciliation with God. Hence men have at all times, according to their ruder or more refined notions and impressions of religion, sought to satisfy this want. One principal reason why they have always so imperfectly attained their end, has lain in their carnal modes of thinking; in consequence of which they could not elevate themselves in spirit to what was exalted and divine, but drew this down to the level of the low and sensual. Such were the Jews, particularly at the time when Christianity appeared in the world. Confounding internal with external religion, the spirit with the letter, they sought after a dead external holiness of works; by which, as by an *opus operatum*, they thought to *merit* justification before God. Such an external holiness of works always has its source in a dead *faith*, which regards the law to be observed as a divine precept, and thinks by fulfilling it, that is by external works not springing from the heart, to acquire the favour of God. With this idea men were easily led to add to the divine law a multitude of human institutes and precepts, by the observance of which they thought to enhance still more their merit before God. As this faith was thus considered an essential part of religion, (or religiousness,) by steadfast adherence to it a rigid *orthodoxy* was attained, which however had to do, not with the spirit which maketh alive, but with the letter which killeth. This religious tendency was represented among the Jews by the PHARISEES.—Christianity now appeared and taught men that all these carnal and external exercises were vain and useless, and that it was only by the spirit, by an internal pious disposition, by a humble, confiding, entire surrender to Christ, which, however, must always influence the conduct and sanctify the life—that it was only by this genuine christian principle of life, that man could obtain reconciliation with God through divine grace. The first who comprehended this truth in all its strictness was the apostle Paul. To denote this new thing, this new christian principle of life as a spiritual means of justification, Christianity introduced likewise a new technical word, *πίστις*, which, as is the case with our word *faith*, but half expresses the idea it is intended to designate; and therefore necessarily gave rise very early to numerous misconstructions.

Some saw nothing new in Christianity at all incompatible with Judaism, inasmuch as they were acquainted with something falsely called *πίστις*; and hence they were desirous of retaining the *νόμος*, to which they attached the highest value. It was these in particular whom Paul combatted. Others acknowledged that Christ, the divine messenger, had brought life and salvation to men in the Gospel; but they either contented themselves with this acknowledgment,¹ or regarded the moral precepts of Christ as a new *νόμος* for which they had exchanged the Mosaic law. Both classes erred in regarding the *πίστις*, or rigid orthodoxy, and the *ἔργα*, or mere external works, each separately as an *opus operatum*, which led to salvation; without recognizing both in their necessary mutual relation. Thus we find always in the ancient church, along with the strictest adherence to the doctrines of the church, the slightest deviation from which was heresy, a tendency likewise to hypocritical works of holiness, in which it was taken for granted that by a voluntary worship, by the observance of certain human institutes and customs, it was possible in the sight of God to merit forgiveness of sins. It was the reaction against this last tendency, that was the immediate occasion of the great Reformation of the church, which restored to its proper place the doctrine of *justification by faith*. Still this doctrine did not remain free from misconstruction; so that e. g. there arose a merely verbal controversy, founded simply on misapprehension; for the declaration of Amsdorf in the heat of controversy, that "good works are prejudicial to salvation," when rightly understood, is just as true, as Major's position "that they are essential to salvation," is untrue, if incorrectly understood. Thus even yet the idea of *πίστις* was far from being accurately comprehended or defined in itself, much less as to its true relation to christian life; it was only partially considered, and the efforts of theologians were directed by preference to the illustration and support of the dogma according to the very letter of Luther. It was therefore high time, when the pious Spener again brought back Christianity, which seemed on the point of being dissipated in speculation and a spirit of dogmatic discussion, to firm ground, by bringing it again to act upon the life of man. Still, however, even in our time, that unity of faith and works, in which alone

¹ Like those against whom James speaks in the passage under consideration.

the true christian *πίστις* consists, is not yet found throughout the christian world; and there remains to us only the hope, that it will one day thus appear, when, in conformity with the promise of our Lord, there shall be *one fold and one Shepherd*.

ART. IV. ON THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS RESPECTING CHRIST.

By C. G. Bretschneider. Translated by the Editor.*

Two passages are found in the writings of Josephus, in which he speaks of Jesus Christ; one of which, being of considerable length, is called by way of eminence, *The Testimony of Josephus respecting Christ*, and has given rise to many disputes among learned men. The following are the passages in question.

ANTIQ. XVIII. 3. 3. *Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶχε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρηΐ ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἷγε πρώτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.*

* The following tract by Bretschneider, appears to be so conclusive in regard to a very important historical question, that it cannot but be acceptable to the readers of the Biblical Repository to have a translation of it preserved in these pages. The tract appears as an appendix to the little work: *Capita Theologiae Judaeorum dogmaticae e Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta, auctore C. G. BRETSCHNEIDER, Theol. Doct. etc. Lips. 1812.*—Ed.

ΑΝΤΙQ. XX. 9. 1. (Ἀνάνος) καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν, καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρίδωκε λευσθησομένους.

"At this time lived Jesus, a wise man; if indeed it be proper to call him a man. For he performed astonishing works, and was a teacher of such as delight in receiving the truth; and drew to himself many of the Jews, and many also of the Gentiles. This was he who is [called] Christ. And when Pilate, at the instance of the chief men among us, had caused him to be crucified, still those who had once loved him, did not cease to love him. For on the third day he again appeared unto them alive; divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things respecting him. And even to this day, that class of persons who were called from him CHRISTIANS, have not become extinct."

"Ananus assembled a council of judges, and having brought before them the brother of Jesus, called Christ (whose own name was James,) and certain others, and having accused them of violating the laws, he delivered them over to be stoned."

The great dispute has been whether the former of these passages be genuine or not. Many learned men have supposed, that some christian transcriber, out of a pious regard for the interests of Christianity, and in order to afford an argument against the unbelieving Jews, inserted the whole passage; or that at least, if Josephus did make any mention of Christ, much of the language, as it now stands, has been thus interpolated.¹ Although it is not my intention to decide upon this controversy, nor to repeat all that has been urged on both sides of the question; yet I have thought that it might be neither uninteresting nor useless to suggest very briefly some things on this subject, which seem to me not to have received sufficient consideration.² The passage in question may indeed well cause the reader to hesitate; but if all the circumstances be duly weighed, I do not apprehend that it can be considered either as spurious, or as

¹ See Less *Progr. I, II, super Josephi de Christo testimonio*, Goett. 1781. Henke *Geschichte der christ. Kirche*. 1 Th. p. 54 sq.

² For a long and learned defence of this passage, see Hauteville *Erwiesene Wahrheit der christ. Relig.* 1745. p. 275-311.

having suffered any change from the hands of christian transcribers.

I. If we were to decide the question by the authority of manuscripts, there can be no doubt but that the passage was written by Josephus, and has never been corrupted. All the manuscripts which are known, exhibit the same words, in the same place and order; and they are also quoted, first by Eusebius, and afterwards by Jerome, Suidas, and others. But if all the manuscripts uniformly agree, and we have, besides, testimonies of great antiquity to the genuineness of the passage, it surely cannot justly be called in question, except upon the strength of very weighty arguments. What then are those arguments? They are drawn partly from the silence of certain writers, and partly from the character of the passage itself.

1. The most ancient christian writers, it is said, and especially Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen, have never employed this passage against the Jews; which they certainly would have done, had it been then extant. But from the mere silence of a few writers in a case of this kind, can we draw any certain conclusion which shall overturn the credit of all the manuscripts? No one will affirm this.¹ But Origen has expressly said, *καὶ τοις ἀνιστοῦν [Ἰωάννης] τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, Josephus did not believe on Jesus as the Messiah;*² and again, *Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν οὐ παραδέξαμενος εἶναι Χριστόν, he did not receive our Jesus as the Messiah.*³ Origen therefore, it is said, could not have known of the passage in question, in which Josephus certainly acknowledges Jesus as the Messiah; and hence it is manifest that the manuscripts of Josephus in the time of Origen, (who died A. D. 254,) could not have contained those words. On the other hand, others have very justly suggested, that Origen means only to affirm, that *Josephus did not become a follower of Christ.* But passing over this suggestion, we find that between the death of Origen and the time of Eusebius, there was an interval of only fifty years. Is it possible that in so short a time, all the manuscripts, or even many of them, should have been thus interpolated? Can we suppose that Eusebius was hurried on against the Jews by a zeal so blind, that although he does not seek to conceal the doubts which were raised respecting the sacred

¹ For many reasons why they should not have quoted this passage, see Hauteville, l. c. p. 283 sq.

² Lib. l. c. Cels.

³ Comm. in Matt.

books of the Scriptures, he should yet publish this passage as genuine and true, though he knew it was wanting in many manuscripts, or was written only in the margin? Is it credible, moreover, that this interpolation, which was unknown to Origen, should have immediately crept into all the manuscripts; so that neither Jerome, nor Sozomen, nor Suidas, nor any other early writer, should have stumbled upon a manuscript in which it was not contained?

2. It is objected further, that by this testimony respecting Jesus, the order of the narrative is interrupted; but if this be taken away, the proper order will be restored. The circumstances are just these: In c. 3. § 1, Josephus relates that Pilate introduced images of Cæsar into Jerusalem; but that when a tumult had been excited on account of them, he ordered them to be removed. In § 2, Pilate attempted to bring water into Jerusalem, at the expense of the temple, etc. and in a tumult which arises, he puts to death many of the Jews. In § 3, he crucifies Jesus who is called Christ, a wise and holy man. In § 4, it is narrated that another evil (*ἕτερον δεινόν*) occasioned trouble to the Jews, viz. a flagitious crime committed in the temple of Isis at Rome; as connected with which, § 5 relates that all the Jews were banished by Tiberius from Rome. The writer then goes on, in c. 4, to describe the sedition of the Samaritans, and the suppression of it by Pilate. Now can any one justly affirm that the history of Josephus is in any way interrupted by the passage in question? Can any one show what connexion would be restored, if this were omitted? Most evidently Josephus has narrated the events in the order in which they occurred, and intended to give them no other connexion than that of succession of time. If therefore it was his purpose to make any mention of the fate of Jesus, he could have done it with propriety in no other place.

3. Another, and a more plausible objection is, that it is impossible to suppose that Josephus would speak of Jesus in this manner, and acknowledge him as the Messiah, and yet not have embraced his religion, and become a Christian. But this objection seems to be grounded on a misapprehension of the language of Josephus; for *Χριστός* is here not a doctrinal appellation, but merely a proper name, and is to be translated, not *the Christ*, i. e. the Messiah, but simply *Christ*. *Ὁ Χριστός οὗτος ἦν*, i. e. *οὗτος ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*, as it is read in the other passage, *this was he who is known by the name of Christ*,

and whose followers are still called from him, Christians. It is likewise to be remembered, that Josephus was writing not to Jews, but to Greeks, who were unacquainted with the doctrinal meaning of ὁ Χριστός among the former people. He therefore undoubtedly wrote the words ὁ Χριστός οὗτος ἦν, to signify to the Greeks, that the Jesus of whom he was speaking, was the same person of whom they had heard so much, under the name of *Christ*; and that the name of *Christians*, which was then well known to the Greeks, was derived from the surname of the same Jesus. And because he would assign a reason, why the disciples of Jesus adhered to him so strongly after his crucifixion, he states that Jesus after his death appeared again to his followers alive, and that many prophecies were accomplished in him. Josephus therefore does not say this as expressing his own belief, for he had never known Jesus; but he describes in these words the belief of the Christians, the credibility of which he either did not wish, or was unable to impugn. It should moreover be borne in mind, that Josephus appears not to have adopted the notions respecting the Messiah, which were current among the Jews; nor yet to have exhibited any higher views or hopes respecting any Saviour. If then he did actually esteem Jesus as a σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, as he calls him, whose deeds and fate were remarkable and unusual, he would yet, merely in this view, have no reason for changing his religion.

All the arguments, then, which are urged against the passage under consideration, even if we allow them their fullest force, are yet uncertain; and surely they are not of sufficient weight, to weaken the credit of all the manuscripts and so many of the early fathers; much less to destroy it.

Nor indeed does the opinion, that the passage was inserted by some christian transcriber, in itself considered, carry with it much appearance of truth. A transcriber of this sort would hardly have been contented with the language as it now stands; he would have introduced more facts respecting the life of Jesus; he would have dwelt with more prolixity on all the circumstances; and would have noted more particularly his innocence, his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven. We have but to glance at the spurious narratives which were manufactured in the second and third centuries, to rest satisfied that a writer of this sort would not have restrained himself to expressions so moderate as σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρη παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητῆς καὶ ἀνθρώπων διδάσκαλος, a wise man,

if it be proper to call him a man; a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of men. What unheard of moderation in a writer, desirous of palming upon the world a pious fraud! Can we for a moment suppose that such a writer would merely have said *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν*? or that he would not have more accurately described *οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνδρες παρ' ἡμῖν*, those chief men among the Jews, or *οἱ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες*, those who loved him from the first?

II. It was manifestly the object of Josephus, to comprise in his narrative all that was memorable in the history of his nation. Is it then probable that he should not have said a word respecting the origin of the order of Christians, who at that time had become numerous even among the Greeks? Why, I ask, should he adopt such a course? Perhaps through hatred of the Christians, like the rest of his countrymen. This, however, no one will believe, who has read the writings of Josephus; he will not even suspect it. Or perhaps it was through fear of the Jews, lest by narrating the truth, he should give them offence and excite their hatred. If such had been his fear, he ought not to have written at all; much less to have depicted as he has done the perverse obstinacy and depravity of his countrymen. How then can we suppose it possible, that a writer like Josephus, of real diligence, who had treated with considerable copiousness of the life and death of John the Baptist,¹ how, I say, can we suppose it possible that he should pass over in entire silence a person so remarkable as Jesus, and not bestow a single word on the origin of the sect called Christians, a name which already had become common and well known? Yet unless this passage be genuine, there is no place in the writings of Josephus, where he speaks of the life or character of Christ; and this affords a ground of persuasion in favour of its genuineness.

III. This persuasion is confirmed by the other passage quoted at the head of this article, where mention is made of the death of the brother of Jesus, *ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*. In this latter passage I cannot help believing that Josephus refers to what he had before related respecting this same Jesus. For when he wishes to explain who this James was, who was unknown to Greek readers, he does not call him by his proper name, but gives him the title of *the brother of Jesus who is called Christ*. Josephus has therefore made use of that which was common and well

¹ Antiq. XVIII. 5. 2.

known, in order to explain and describe what was unknown. Suppose now that he had not previously spoken of that Jesus, but had passed over his life and fortunes in silence; how then could he now simply say, *Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*, *Jesus who is called Christ*? I can see no reason to doubt that Josephus took it for granted, that his readers knew and remembered, from what he had already said, who this Jesus was, that was surnamed Christ. For who would suppose that a writer like Josephus would narrate the circumstances of the death of James, a person of far less celebrity, and yet be silent in respect to Jesus? Or who would not deem it a mark of weakness in a writer, that in order more definitely to describe an unknown man, he should introduce the name of another person, whom, although possessed of the highest claims to notice, he had every where else passed over without the slightest mention?

ART. V. NOTES ON THE BEDOUINS.

From Borchardt.*

The following sketches relate especially to the Aenezes; these are the only true Bedouin nation of Syria, while the other Arab tribes in the neighbourhood of this country have, more or less, degenerated in manners: several being reduced to subjection, while the free-born Aeneze is still governed by the same laws that spread over the desert at the beginning of the Moham-medan era.

* "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys," Lond. 1830, quarto. Very few copies of this work have reached this country; and as it contains the collected fruits of the author's long residence and journeyings among the Arabs of the desert, all of which are highly illustrative of the nomadic life and manners so often referred to in the Old Testament; we have thought we could not better subserve the interests of biblical learning, than by transferring copious extracts to our pages.—Ed.

I. MODE OF ENCAMPING.

In countries where security reigns, the Bedouins often encamp the whole year round, occupying but two or three tents together, at the distance of several hours from any other members of their tribe. I have seen such solitary inhabitants of the Hodeyl tribe in the mountains east of Mekka, and some of the Sowaleha and Mezeiyne tribes in the mountains of Sinai.

It may be here remarked that all the wealthy Bedouins have two sets of tent-coverings—one new and strong, for winter—the other old and light, for summer.

On the Syrian and Arabian plains the Bedouins encamp in summer (when rainwater cannot be found in pools), near wells, where they remain often for a whole month; while their flocks and herds pasture all around, at the distance of several hours, under the guard of slaves or shepherds, who bring them every second or third day to the well for water. It is on these occasions that the Arabs make attacks upon other tribes; for it becomes known that such or such people are encamped near a certain well, and may be easily surprised. If an attack of this kind be apprehended, the men of the encampment are in constant readiness for defence, and for the rescue of their cattle, which the enemy often strives to carry off. The Sherarat Arabs, who, living on the Syrian Hadj route, are much exposed to invasion, constantly have a saddled camel before their tents, that they may the more readily hasten to the assistance of their shepherds. Most wells in the interior of the deserts, and especially in Nedjd, are exclusive property, either of a whole tribe, or of individuals whose ancestors dug the wells. During the Wahaby government many new wells have been made by the chief's order. If a well be the property of a tribe, the tents are pitched near it, whenever rain-water becomes scarce in the desert; and no other Arabs are then permitted to water their camels there. But if the well belongs to an individual, he repairs it in summer time, accompanied by his tribe, and receives presents from all strange tribes who pass or encamp at the well, and refresh their camels with the water of it; and these presents are particularly required if a party pass on its return home, which has been seen taking plunder from an enemy. The property of such a well is never alienated; and the Arabs say, that the possessor is sure to be fortunate, as all who drink of the water be-

stow on him their benedictions.* In spring and winter it is more difficult to carry off the cattle, because in those seasons they find sufficient food close to the tents, and are, therefore, easily protected. There are tribes which encamp in spring time far from any streams or wells, on fertile plains, where they remain for several weeks without tasting water, living wholly upon milk; and their cattle can dispense with water as long as green and juicy herbage affords them nourishment: this, however, is not the case with horses. Considerable numbers of the Beni Shammar thus encamp every spring, for upwards of a month, in the waterless desert between Djof and Djebel Shammar.

In travelling, strong parties only can venture to encamp at night near a well, where they may naturally expect visitors. Weaker parties water their beasts, fill their water-skins, and encamp at a distance from any road leading to the well.

The Aenezes are nomades in the strictest acceptation of the word, for they continue during the whole year in almost constant motion. Their summer quarters are near the Syrian frontiers, and in winter they retire into the heart of the desert, or towards the Euphrates. In summer they encamp close to rivulets and springs which abound near the Syrian desert, but they seldom remain above three or four days in the same spot: as soon as their cattle have consumed the herbage near a watering-place, the tribe removes in search of pasture, and the grass again springing up serves for a succeeding camp. The encampments vary in number of tents, from ten to eight hundred: when the tents are but few, they are pitched in a circle, and then called *dowâr*; but more considerable numbers in a straight line, or a row of single tents, especially along a rivulet, sometimes three or four behind as many others. Such encampments are called *nezel*. In winter, when water and pasture never fail, the mode of encamping is different. The whole tribe then spreads itself over the plain in parties of three or four tents each, with an interval of half an hour's distance between each party: to encamp thus, is called *fereik*. In the *dowâr*, as in the *nezel*, the sheikh's or chief's tent is always on the western side; for it is from the west, that the Syrian Arabs expect their enemies as well as their guests. To oppose the former, and to honour the latter, is the sheikh's principal business; and as it is

* Compare Genesis 21: 25 sq. 26: 15 sq.—ED.

then grind it, and each family collects in spring two or three loads of it. They eat it mixed with butter.

The Aenezes do not make any cheese, at least very seldom, but convert all the milk of their sheep and goats into butter. The Arabs of Ahl el Shemál, on the contrary, furnish cheese to most of the inhabitants of the Eastern Syrian plain.

Kemmāye, or *kemmá*, (or in the Bedouin dialect *djeme*,) a favourite dish of the Arabs, is a kind of truffle growing in the desert, without any appearance of either roots or seeds; in size and shape the *kemmāye* much resembles the true truffle. There are three species of it: the red, *khelásy*, the black, *jebah*, and the white, *zebeidy*. If the rain has been abundant during winter, the *djemes* are found in the end of March. They lie about four inches under ground: the place where they grow is known by a little rising of the ground over them. If the fruit is left to attain full maturity, it rises above the earth to about half its volume. The children and servants dig it out with short sticks. They are sometimes so numerous on the plain that the camels stumble over them. Each family then gathers four or five camel-loads; and while this stock lasts, they live exclusively on *kemmāye*, without tasting either burgoul or ayesch. The *kemmāyes* are boiled in water or milk till they form a paste, over which melted butter is poured: they are sometimes roasted and eaten with melted butter. It is said that they produce costiveness. If they have been abundant, they are dried in the sun, and afterwards dressed for use like fresh ones. Great quantities are consumed by the people of Damascus, and the peasants of Eastern Syria. In general they are worth at Damascus about a halfpenny per pound. They are brought to Damascus from the district near *Tel Zeykal* on the eastern limits of the *Merdj*. To Aleppo they are brought from the plain adjoining Djebel el Hass. Camels do not eat *kemmāye*. The desert *Hammad*, or the great plain between Damascus and Baghdad and Basrah, is full of *kemmāye*.

The Aeneze eat gazelles, whenever they can kill them. I heard that they regard the *jerboa*, or rat of the desert, as a great dainty, for its fine flavour. The interior of the desert abounds with *jerboas*.

The *ayesh* is the daily and universal dish of the Aenezes; and even the richest sheikh would think it a shame to order his wife to dress any other dish, merely to please his own palate. The Arabs never indulge in luxuries, but on occasion of some festi-

val, or on the arrival of a stranger. For a common guest, bread is baked, and served up with the ayesb; if the guest is of some consideration, coffee is prepared for him, and *behatta*, or *fitta*, or bread with melted butter. For a man of rank, a kid or lamb is killed. When this occurs, they boil the lamb with burgoul and camel's milk, and serve it up in a large wooden dish, round the edge of which the meat is placed. A wooden bowl, containing the melted grease of the animal, is put and pressed down in the midst of the burgoul; and every morsel is dipped into the grease before it is swallowed. If a camel should be killed, (which rarely happens,) it is cut into large pieces; some part is boiled, and its grease mixed with burgoul; part is roasted, and, like the boiled, put upon the dish of burgoul. The whole tribe then partakes of the delicious feast. Camel's flesh is more esteemed in winter than in summer; and the she-camel more than the male. The grease of the camel is kept in goat-skins, and used like butter.

Throughout the desert there is a great sameness in the Bedouin dishes; for they every where consist chiefly of flour and butter. In every province, however, different names are given to the same dish; thus what the Aenezes call *fitta*, the Arabs of Sinai denominate *medjelleh*, or, if milk be mixed with it, *merekeda*. The *djereisha* is a very common dish in the interior of the desert, boiled wheat which has been coarsely ground, and over which butter is poured; with the addition of milk it becomes *nekaa*. The custom of telling the landlord to take away the meat for the women, is prevalent among the Sinai Arabs, although not known in Hedjaz. In such parts of the desert as are far distant from any cultivated districts, the consumption of corn is much less than in others. Thus the Arabs on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, between Yembo and Akaba, use but little wheaten bread. It is the want of corn that obliges all Bedouins to keep up any intercourse with those who cultivate the soil; and it is a mistake to imagine that the Bedouins can ever be independent of the cultivators. The frontier villages of Syria and Mesopotamia, the towns of Nedjd; Yembo, Mekka, and Djidda, and the cultivated vallies of Hedjaz and Yemen, are frequented for provisions by all the Bedouins at a distance of ten or fifteen days from those points: there they sell their cattle, and take in return wheat, barley and clothes. It is only when circumstances force them, that Arabs content themselves with a diet of milk and meat alone.

Of camel's milk, neither butter nor cheese is ever made ; it abounds among the Aenezes. The sheep and goats are milked every morning by the women before day-break ; the milk is shaken for about two hours in skins, and thus becomes butter ; and the buttermilk constitutes the chief beverage of the Arabs, and is much used in their dishes : it is generally (but not always) called *leben*, while fresh milk is distinguished by the term, *haleib*.

A lamb is sometimes roasted or baked in the earth ; a hole being made for that purpose, heated and covered with stones. Many Bedouins have a custom of boiling certain herbs in butter, which is then poured off into the skins containing their provisions. This butter becomes strongly impregnated with the odour of those herbs, and is much liked by the Arabs. The herb *shyh* is often used in this manner ; the herb *baitherán* (a species of thyme) is commonly applied to this purpose in Nedjd.

On their journeys, the Bedouins live almost wholly upon unleavened bread baked in the ashes, and mixed with butter : this food they call *kurs*, *ayesh*, and *kahkeh*.

I have elsewhere remarked that the Arabs of Kerek regard it as extremely shameful to sell any butter. Among the Bedouins near Mekka to sell milk is considered as equally degrading, and the poorest Arab would not expose himself to the opprobrious nickname of *lebbán*, or "milk-seller," although, during the pilgrimage, milk is excessively dear. It forms a curious exception to this rule, that the Beni Koreish, who esteem themselves the most noble race of Arabian Bedouins, freely sell their milk, with which Mekka is supplied from the tents of that tribe, generally pitched about Djebel Arafat and Wady Muna.

In Hedjaz the usual dish of the Arabs is Indian rice, mixed with lentils and without any bread ; this they find cheaper than corn, and equally nutritious ; but wherever dates grow, that excellent fruit constitutes their chief diet. In Nedjd, Hedjaz, and Yemen, the Bedouins use butter to excess. Whoever can afford such luxury, swallows every morning a large cupfull of butter before breakfast, and snuffs up as much into his nostrils (this is also a favourite practice among the people of Mekka) : all their food swims in butter. The continual motion and exercise in which they employ themselves strengthen their powers of digestion, and for the same reason, an Arab will live for months together upon the smallest allowance ; and then, if an opportu-

nity should offer, he will devour at one sitting the flesh of half a lamb without any injury to his health.

In the interior of their deserts, the Bedouins never make any cheese; their butter is made of sheep's or goats' milk. I have never seen any butter made from the milk of camels, although I understood that this was sometimes the case on particular occasions of necessity; many Arabs with whom I conversed had never tasted any.

Throughout the desert when a sheep or goat is killed, the persons present often eat the liver and kidneys raw, adding to it a little salt. Some Arabs of Yemen are said to eat raw not only those parts, but likewise whole slices of flesh; thus resembling the Abyssinians and the Druses of Libanon, who frequently indulge in raw meat, the latter to my own certain knowledge. The Asyr Arabs, and those south of them towards Yemen, eat horse flesh; but this is never used as food among the northern Bedouins.

The Arabs are rather slovenly in their manner of eating; they thrust the whole hand into the dish before them, shape the burgoul into balls as large as a hen's egg, and thus swallow it. They wash their hands just before dinner, but seldom after; being content to lick the grease off their fingers, and rub their hands upon the leather scabbards of their swords, or clean them with the *roffe* of the tent (as above mentioned). The common hour of breakfast is about ten o'clock: dinner or supper is served at sunset. If there is plenty of pasture, camel's milk is handed round after dinner. The Arabs eat heartily, and with much eagerness. The boiled dish set before them being always very hot, it requires some practice to avoid burning one's fingers, and yet to keep pace with the voracious company. Indeed, during my first acquaintance with the Arabs, I seldom retired from a meal quite satisfied. Among the Arabs of the desert, as those of the towns, the disgusting custom of eructation after every meal is universal. This I observe, to correct a misrepresentation of D'Arvieux.

The women eat in the *meharrem* what is left of the men's dinner: they seldom have the good fortune to taste any meat except the head, feet, and liver of the lambs. While the men of the camp resort to the tent in which a stranger is entertained, and participate in the supper, their women steal into the *meharrem* of the hostess, to beg a foot, or some other trifling portion of the animal killed for the occasion.

III. INDUSTRY.

The chief specimens of Bedouin industry are the tanning of leather; the preparing of water-skins, the weaving of tents, sacks, cloaks, and *abbas*. The leather is tanned by means of pomegranate juice, or, (as more commonly over the whole desert) with the *gharad* or fruit of the *Sant*, or else with the bark of the *Seyale*, another mimosa species. The women sew the water-skins which the men have tanned. They work in Hedjaz very neat neck-leathers for the camels, upon which their husbands ride; these are a kind of net-work, adorned with shells and leather tassels, called *dawireh*. The distaff is frequently seen in the hands of men all over the Hedjaz; and it seems strange that they should not regard this as derogating from their masculine dignity, while they disdainfully spurn at every other domestic employment. Among all the Bedouin tribes, goat's hair constitutes the material of the coverings of tents, and of camel and provision bags.

IV. WEALTH AND PROPERTY OF THE BEDOUINS.

An Arab's property consists almost wholly in his horses and camels. The profits arising from his butter enable him to procure the necessary provisions of wheat and barley, and occasionally a new suit of clothes for his wife and daughters. His mare every spring produces a valuable colt, and by her means he may expect to enrich himself with booty. No Arab family can exist without one camel at least; a man, who has but ten, is reckoned poor: thirty or forty place a man in easy circumstances; and he who possesses sixty, is rich. I do not, however, make this statement as applicable to all Arabs: there are tribes originally poor, like the *Ahl Djebel* Arabs; among whom, from the possession of ten camels, a man is reckoned wealthy. Some sheikhs of the Aenezes have as many as three hundred camels. The sheikh who was my guide to Tedmor was reputed to have one hundred camels, between three and four hundred sheep and goats, two mares and one horse. The price of a camel varies according to the demands of the Hadj or Mekka caravans. The Hadj not having taken place for the last four years, a good Arab camel is now worth about ten pounds. I once inquired of an Arab in easy circumstances, what was the amount of his yearly expenditure; and he said, that in ordinary years he consumed—

	piastres.
Four camel-loads of wheat	200
Barley for his mare	100
Clothing for his women and children	200
Luxuries, as coffee, <i>kammerdin</i> , <i>debs</i> ,* tobacco, and half a dozen lambs	200
	<hr/> 700

about 35 or 40 pounds sterling.

Among the Arabs, horses are not so numerous as might be supposed from the reports of several travellers, as well as of the country people in Syria, who indeed are but imperfectly acquainted with the affairs of the Desert. During my visits to Aeneze encampments, I could seldom reckon more than one mare for six or seven tents. The Aenezes exclusively ride their mares, and sell the male colts to the peasants and town's people of Syria and Baghdad. The Arabs of Abl el Shemál have more horses than the Aenezes, but the breed is adulterated in some instances.

Wealth, however, among the Arabs is extremely precarious, and the most rapid changes of fortune are daily experienced. The bold incursions of robbers, and sudden attacks of hostile parties, reduce, in a few days, the richest man to a state of beggary; and we may venture to say, that there are not many fathers of families who have escaped such disasters. The detail hereafter given, of Bedouin wars and robberies, will explain this assertion. It may be almost said, that the Arabs are obliged to rob and pillage. Most families of the Aenezes are unable to defray the annual expenses from their profits on their cattle, and few Arabs would sell a camel to purchase provisions: he knows, from experience, that to continue long in a state of peace, diminishes the wealth of an individual; war and plunder therefore becomes necessary. The sheikh is obliged to lead his Arabs against the enemy, if there be one; if not, it can easily be contrived to make one. But it may be truly said, that wealth alone does not give a Bedouin any importance among his people. A poor man, if he be hospitable and liberal according to his means, always killing a lamb when a stranger arrives, giving coffee to all the guests present, holding his bag of tobacco

* *Kammerdin*, dried apricot jelly from Damascus.—*Debs*, a sweet jelly made of grapes.

always ready to supply the pipes of his friends, and sharing whatever booty he gets among his poor relations, sacrificing his last penny to honour his guest or relieve those who want, obtains infinitely more consideration and influence among his tribe, than the *bakheil*, or avaricious and wealthy miser, who receives a guest with coldness, and lets his poor friends starve. As riches among this nation of robbers do not confer influence or power, so the wealthy person does not derive from them any more refined gratification than the poorest individual of the tribe may enjoy. The richest sheikh lives like the meanest of his Arabs: they both eat every day of the same dishes, and in the same quantity, and never partake of any luxury unless on the arrival of a stranger, when the host's tent is open to all his friends. They both dress in the same kind of shabby gown and *messhlakh*. The chief pleasure in which the chief may indulge, is the possession of a swift mare, and the gratification of seeing his wife and daughters better dressed than the other females of the camp.

Bankruptcy, in the usual acceptation of the word, is unknown among the Arabs. A Bedouin either loses his property by the enemy (it is then said of him *wakhad helâle*), or he expends it in profuse hospitality. In this latter case he is praised by the whole tribe; and as the generous Arab is most frequently endowed with other nomadic virtues, he seldom fails to regain, by some lucky stroke, what he had so nobly lost.

The only Bedouins that can be reckoned wealthy, are those whose tribes pasture their cattle in the open plains, which have been fertilized by the rains of winter. To them belong innumerable herds of camels: the richest Bedouins of the southern plains are the *Kuhtan* tribe, on the frontiers of Yemen. The father of a family is said to be poor among them, if he possess only forty camels; the usual stock in a family is from one hundred to two hundred. The tribes of poor Bedouins are all those who occupy a mountainous territory, where the camels find less food, and are not so prolific. Thus the Bedouin inhabitants of that whole chain of mountains, that extend from Damascus across Arabia Petræa, and along the coast of the Red Sea, as far as Yemen, are all people of little property in cattle, while all the tribes of the eastern plains possess great numbers. The account which I have already given of an Arab's yearly expenses, must be understood only of a man above the common class; many respectable families spend only half that

sum. To give a specimen of the means adopted by a poor Arab to gain his livelihood, and furnish his family with provisions, my journal of an expedition in the Sinai mountains may be consulted. Poor Bedouins come from thence to Cairo, bringing their camels loaded with coals. Such a load, which requires the labour of one man for ten or fifteen days to collect, is sold at Cairo for about three dollars, after a journey of ten or eleven days. With these three dollars, the man then purchases half a load of wheat, some tobacco for himself, and a pair of shoes or handkerchief for his wife, and returns the same distance to his tent; having been above five weeks employed, together with his camel, in procuring this scanty supply for the family. On such occasion a Bedouin will gladly forfeit the only sensual pleasure he can enjoy on the road, (eating butter and smoking tobacco,) rather than return to his home without some small present for his family, for the purchase of which he sacrifices, if necessary, even his butter-skin and tobacco-pouch.

Some Arab families pride themselves in having only herds of camels, without sheep or goats; but I never heard that there existed whole tribes without the latter. Those who have camels alone are mostly families of sheikhs; and in case strangers arrive for whom a lamb is to be killed, then the Arabs usually bring one for that purpose to the sheikh's tent. In some encampments, the Arabs will not permit their sheikh to slaughter a lamb on any occasion, but furnish by turns the meat for his tent. The families, who have camels only are called *ahel bel*, in opposition to the *ahel ghanem*.

But in the most desperate circumstances, without camels or sheep, a Bedouin is always too proud to show discontent, or much less to complain. He never begs assistance, but strives with all his might, either as a camel-driver, a shepherd, or a robber, to retrieve his lost property. Hope in the bounty of God, and a perfect resignation to his divine will, are deeply implanted in the Arab's breast; but this resignation does not paralyse his exertions so much as it does those of the Turks. I have heard Arabs reproach Turks for their apathy and stupidity, in ascribing to the will of God what was merely the result of their own faults or folly, quoting a proverb which says, "He bared his back to the stings of mosquitos, and then exclaimed, God has decreed that I should be stung." The fortitude with which Bedouins endure evils of every kind is exemplary: in that respect they are as much superior to us as we exceed them

in our eager search after pleasing sensations and refined enjoyments. Wise men have always thought that the amount of evil in this world was greater than that of pleasure; it seems therefore that he is more truly a philosopher who, although he knows but few refinements of pleasure, laughs at evil, than the man who sinks under adversity, and passes his happier moments in the pursuit of visionary enjoyments.

The secret hopes and expectations of the Bedouin are much more limited than those of the Arab who dwells in a town. His chief desire during a state of poverty is to become so opulent that he may be enabled to slaughter a lamb on the arrival of every respectable guest at his tent, and in this act of hospitality to rival at least, if not to exceed, all the other Arabs of his tribe. If fortune grant him the accomplishment of this desire, he then looks out for a fine horse or dromedary, and good clothes for his females: these objects once attained, he feels no other wish but that of maintaining and increasing his reputation for bravery and hospitality. For this reason it may be safely affirmed that there are among Bedouins, an infinitely greater number of individuals contented and happy with their lot, than among other Asiatics, whose happiness is almost always blighted by avarice, and the ambition of rising above their equals.

The Bedouin is certainly unhappy when he feels himself so poor that he cannot entertain a guest according to his wish; he then looks with an envious eye upon his more fortunate neighbours; he dreads the sneers of friends and of enemies, who regard him as unable to honour a stranger: but whenever he can contrive to display hospitality, he feels himself upon a footing of equality with the richest sheikh, towards whom he bears no envy on account of his more numerous flocks and herds, the possession of which does not procure to him any increase either of honours or enjoyments.

V. WARFARE AND PREDATORY EXCURSIONS.

The Arab tribes are in a state of almost perpetual war against each other; it seldom happens that a tribe enjoys a moment of general peace with all his neighbours, yet the war between two tribes is scarcely ever of long duration; peace is easily made, but again broken upon the slightest pretence. The Arab warfare is that of partisans; general battles are rarely fought: to surprise the enemy by a sudden attack, and to plunder a camp,

are chief objects of both parties. This is the reason why their wars are bloodless ; the enemy is generally attacked by superior numbers, and he gives way without fighting, in hopes of retaliating on a weak encampment of the other party. The dreaded effects of "blood-revenge," which shall be hereafter noticed, prevent many sanguinary conflicts : thus two tribes may be at war for a whole year without the loss of more than thirty or forty men on each side. The Arabs, however, have evinced on some occasions great firmness and courage ; but when they fight merely for plunder, they behave like cowards. I could adduce numerous instances of caravan-travellers and peasants putting to flight three times their number of Arabs who had attacked them : hence, throughout Syria, they are reckoned miserable cowards, and their contests with the peasants always prove them such ; but when the Arab faces his national enemy in open battle, when the fame and honour of his tribe are at stake, he frequently displays heroic valour ; and we still find among them warriors whose names are celebrated all over the desert ; and the acts of bravery ascribed to them might seem fabulous, did we not recollect that the weapons of the Arabs allow full scope to personal prowess, and that in irregular skirmishing the superior qualities of the horse give the rider incalculable advantages over his enemies. Thus we read in the history of Antar that this valiant slave, when mounted upon his mare *Ghabara*, killed with his lance, in a single battle, eight hundred men. However incredulous respecting the full amount of his statement, I may here be allowed to mention the name of a modern hero, whose praise is recorded in hundreds of poems, and whose feats in arms have been reported to me by many ocular witnesses. *Gedoua Ibn Gheyân el Shamsy* is known to have slain thirty of his enemies in one encounter ; he prided himself in having never been put to flight, and the booty which he took was immense. But his friends alone benefited by this, for he himself continued always poor. His life at last was sacrificed to his valour. A war broke out in the year 1790, between the *Ibn Fadhel* and *Ibn Esmeyr* tribes, while most of the *Aenezes* engaged themselves on one side or the other. After many partial encounters, the two sheikhs, each with about five thousand horsemen, met near *Mezerib*, a small town on the Hadj road, nearly fifty miles from Damascus, on the plain of Hauran, and both determined on a general battle that should terminate the war. The armies were drawn up in sight of each other,

and some slight skirmishing had commenced, when 'Gedoua (or, as the Bedouins in their dialect called him, *Djedoua*) formed the generous resolution of sacrificing his life for the glory of his tribe. He rode up to Ibn Esmeyr, under whose banners the Shamsy then fought, took off his coat of mail, and his clothes to his shirt, and approaching the chief, kissed his beard, thereby indicating that he devoted his life to him. He then quitted the ranks of his friends, and, without any arms besides his sabre, drove his mare furiously against the enemy. His valour being well known to the troops of both parties, every one waited with anxious expectation the result of his enterprise. The strength of his arm soon opened a way among the hostile ranks; he penetrated to their standard, or *merkeb*, which was carried in the centre; felled to the ground the camel that bore it by a stroke on its thigh; then wheeled round, and had already regained the open space between the two armies, when he was killed by a shot from a *metrás* or foot-soldier.* His friends, who had seen the *merkeb* fall, rushed with a loud cheer upon their enemies, and completely routed them; above five hundred foot-soldiers having been slain on that day. Whenever the *merkeb* falls, the battle is considered as lost by the party to whom it had belonged.

I have already mentioned, that the usual mode of warfare is to surprise by sudden attacks. To effect this the Arabs sometimes prepare an expedition against an enemy, whose tents are at a distance of ten or twenty days from their own. The Aenezes are not unfrequently seen encamped in the Hauran, and making incursions into the territory of *Mekka*; or a party of the *Dhofyr* Arabs from the vicinity of Baghdad, plundering the Aeneze encampments near Damascus; or some of the *Beni Sakr* tribe from *Djebel Belkaa*, seeking for pillage in the province of Irak Arabi. Whenever they resolve to undertake a distant expedition, every horseman who is to be of the party, engages a friend to accompany him: this *zammal*, or companion, is mounted on a young and strong camel. The horseman provides camel-bags, a stock of food, and water. He mounts behind the *zammal*, that his mare may not be fatigued

* The *metrás*, or foot-soldiers, are armed with fire-locks; they crouch down in front between the lines of horsemen, and place heaps of stones before them, on which they rest their muskets, that they may take a more certain aim.

before the decisive moment arrives. When the *ghazou*, or flying detachments, approach the enemy, their chief generally appoints three meeting-places, where the zammals are to wait for the horsemen who push forward to the attack. The first meeting-place is seldom more than half an hour's distance from the enemy's camp, in a *wādy* (or valley), or behind a hill. If, at the appointed time, their party does not return to them, the zammals hasten to the second meeting-place, and halt there for a whole day in expectation of their friends; thence they proceed to the third station, where they are to remain three or four days; this place being always at a long day's distance from the object of attack, the enemy's camp. If, after the expiration of that time, none of their people return, they hasten homewards as fast as possible. Should the expedition have proved successful in the taking of booty, the zammal is rewarded with a she-camel, even though his friend's share should not amount to more than a single camel; but if the horsemen have been defeated, the zammal does not get any remuneration. It sometimes happens on distant expeditions, that all the horsemen are destroyed; if they are repulsed, and cut off from the zammals, who have with them the food and water, they must perish in the barren plain, or submit to be stripped and plundered.

Whenever an enemy comes from a distance to attack an encampment, he does not trouble himself about the property that may be in tents, but drives away the horses and camels. If, on the contrary, the enemy's camp is near, the conquerors take away the tents, and all that they contain. In such case, a courageous woman may recover one of her husband's camels, if she run after the retiring enemy, and call out to their chief, "O noble chief, I beg my nourishment from God and from you!—we shall be starved!" If she can keep up with the troop for any length of time, the chief will think himself bound in honour to give her a camel from his own share of the booty.

Whatever these Arabs take in a successful expedition, is shared according to previous agreement. Sometimes every horseman plunders for himself; at other times, an equal division is to be made. In the former case, whatever an Arab first touches with his lance is regarded as his sole property; thus, if a herd of camels be found, every one hastens to touch with his lance as many as he can before any other person, calling out as he touches each, "O N***, bear witness! O Z***, behold thou art mine." The chief of the *ghazou* (not always the

sheikh of the camp, but some other respectable man of the tribe) generally stipulates for an extra portion of the booty; for instance, that all the male camels taken should be his, or one tenth of the plunder above his ordinary share. If a large party take but a comparatively small booty, the chief on his return assembles the men, and the cattle that they had taken, before his tent, and then says to his companions, one after another, "Go thou and take one;" "and thou, go thou, and take one," etc. When all have taken an equal share, should some few remain, which it would be difficult to divide among such numbers, the chief pronounces the word *māleha*, (which I am unable to explain, for it cannot here signify *salted*); on this signal, they all rush upon the remaining cattle, and whatever beast a man first seizes, he retains as his own property.

The Aenezes never attack by night; this they regard as *boag* or treachery; for, during the confusion of a nocturnal assault, the women's apartment might be entered, and violence offered, which would infallibly occasion much resistance from the men of the attacked camp; and probably end in a general massacre—a circumstance which the Arabs constantly endeavour to avoid. An exception, however, must here be made; for the *Shammar* Arabs have a peculiar custom of attacking by night the enemy's camp, when it happens to be situated near their own. If they can reach it unobserved, they suddenly knock down the principal tent-poles; and whilst the surprised people are striving to disengage themselves from the tent-coverings which had fallen on them, the cattle are driven off by the assailants. This kind of attack they call *beyât*.

But the female sex is respected even among the most inveterate enemies, whenever a camp is plundered; and neither men, women, nor slaves, are ever taken prisoners. If the Arabs, after their camp has been plundered, receive a reinforcement, or can rally, they pursue the enemy; and whatever they can recover of the plundered property is returned to its original owner.

In the plundering of a camp, but few men are ever killed. As the camp is generally taken by surprise, defence would be useless against superior numbers; and an Arab never kills an unresisting foe, unless he has to avenge the blood of some relation.

The Bedouins who live in mountainous districts have fewer camels and horses than those of the plains, and therefore can-

not make so many plundering expeditions into distant quarters, and are less warlike than the others. Mountain warfare is moreover liable to many difficulties and dangers unknown in the open country: plunder cannot be so easily carried off, and the recesses of the mountains are seldom well known to any but their own inhabitants. Still there are very few tribes who are ever in a state of perfect peace with all their neighbours; indeed, I cannot at present recollect that this was the case with any one among the numerous tribes that I knew. The Sinai tribes were in 1816 at peace with all the Arabs in their neighbourhood, except the Sowaraka, a tribe dwelling near Gaza and Hebron.

I may here confirm what has been said respecting the martial spirit of the Bedouins; their cowardice when fighting for plunder only; and their bravery when they repel a public enemy. Of the last, they have given repeated proofs, during their wars with the Turks in Hedjaz, whom they defeated in every encounter; for the great battle of Byssel, in January 1815, was merely gained by the stratagems of Mohammed Aly Pasha. In that action whole lines of Bedouins, tied by ropes fastened to each other's legs, were found slaughtered, having sworn to their women at parting that they would never fly before a Turk. To adduce instances of personal valour among the Bedouins would be easy; but such instances are not altogether conclusive as to the character of a whole nation. Whoever has known the Bedouins in their deserts, must be perfectly convinced that they are capable of acts displaying exalted courage, and of much more steadiness and cool perseverance, in cases of danger, than their enemies, the Turks.

The most renowned warrior in the southern parts of Arabia was, during my residence in Hedjaz, *Shahher*, of the Kahtan tribe. He alone once routed a party of thirty horsemen belonging to the Sherif Ghaleb, who had invaded the territory of his Arabs. Ghaleb, who was himself a man of considerable bravery, said on this occasion that "since the time of the *Sword of God* (this is one of Aly's surnames), a stronger arm than *Shahher's* had not been known in Arabia." At another time, the Sherif Hamoud, governor of the Yemen coast, was repulsed with his escort of eighty mounted men by *Shahher* alone.

The sheikh of Beni Shammar, in Mesopotamia, whose name is *El Djerba*, or, as he is otherwise entitled, *Beney*, has also obtained great celebrity for his courageous deeds. When the troops of the Pasha of Baghdad were defeated in 1809, by the

Rowalla Arabs, Beney, with his cousin Abou Fares, covered their retreat; and these two horsemen fought against a multitude of the enemy's cavalry. In the desert, valour must alone be sought among the chiefs, who are generally as much distinguished for bravery as for the influence which they possess.

There is one circumstance that greatly favours the chance of a foreign general in his contests with the Bedouins.* They are but little accustomed to battles in which much blood is shed. When ten or fifteen men are killed in a skirmish, the circumstance is remembered as an event of great importance for many years by both parties. If, therefore, in a battle with foreign troops several hundred are killed in the first onset, and if any of their principal men should be among the slain, the Bedouins become so disheartened, that they scarcely think of further resistance; while a much greater loss on the side of their enemies could not make a similar impression on mercenary soldiers. But even the Arabs would only feel this impression at the beginning of a severe contest; and they would soon, no doubt, accustom themselves to bear greater losses in support of their independence, than they usually suffer in their petty warfare about wells and pasture-grounds. Of this, the Asyr Arabs, who were principally opposed to Mohammed Aly in the battle of Byssel, afford a striking example. Having lost fifteen hundred men in that action (from which their chief Tamy escaped with only five men), they recovered sufficient strength to be able, about forty days after, to meet the Turkish soldiers in another battle, in their own territory, a battle less sanguinary, although better contested than the former; but it ended, after two days' fighting, in the defeat and subsequent capture of Tamy.

When two hostile parties of Bedouin cavalry meet, and perceive from afar, that they are equal in point of numbers, they halt opposite to each other out of the reach of musket-shot; and the battle begins by skirmishes between two men. A horseman leaves his party and gallops off towards the enemy, exclaiming, "O horsemen, O horsemen, let such a one meet me!"

* But this must not flatter him with the hope of reducing them to perfect subjection; and if it be asked what could induce a foreign chief to attempt such a conquest, the answer may be given in a quotation from the letter of Abdallah Ibn Saoud, to the Grand-Signor:—"Envy does not spare even those whose dwellings are miserable huts in deserts, and upon barren hills."

If the adversary for whom he calls be present, and not afraid to meet him in combat, he gallops forwards; if absent, his friends reply that he is not amongst them. The challenged horseman in his turn exclaims, "And you upon the grey mare, who are you?" the other answers, "I am *** the son of ***." Having thus become acquainted with each other, they begin to fight; none of the by-standers join in this combat; to do so would be reckoned a treacherous action; but if one of the combatants should turn back, and fly towards his friends, the latter hasten to his assistance, and drive back the pursuer, who is in turn protected by his friends. After several of these partial combats between the best men of both parties, the whole corps join in promiscuous combat. If an Arab in battle should meet with a personal friend among the enemy's ranks, he turns his mare to a different side, and cries out, "Keep away? let not thy blood be upon me!"

Should a horseman not be inclined to accept the challenge of an adversary, but choose to remain among the ranks of his friends, the challenger laughs at him with taunts and reproaches, and makes it known, as a boast, during the rest of his life, that such a one ** would not venture to meet such a one ** in battle.

If the contest happen in a level country, the victorious party frequently pursue the fugitives for three, four, or five hours together at full gallop; and instances are mentioned of a close pursuit for a whole day. This would not be possible with any but the Bedouin breed of horses, and it is on this account that the Bedouin praises his mare, not so much for her swiftness as for her indefatigable strength.

It is an universal law among the Arabs, that if, in time of war or in suspicious districts, one party meet another in the desert, without knowing whether it be friendly or hostile, those who think themselves the stronger should attack the other; and sometimes blood is shed before they ascertain that the parties are friends; but this is not the case in the Wahaby dominions, where a strong party must pass a weak one without daring to molest it.

The Bedouin mode of fighting is most ancient. The battles described in the two best heroic romances (the *History of Antar*, and that of the tribe of *Beni Helâl*) consisted principally in single combats, like those above mentioned. It is more congenial with the dispositions of Bedouins, who are al-

ways anxious to know by whom a man has been killed—a circumstance which in a promiscuous attack cannot easily be ascertained.

VI. BLOOD-REVENGE, OR THAR.

The fundamental laws of blood-revenge are the same, and universal throughout the whole Arabian desert. The right to it exists every where within the *khomse*.* Arabian tribes residing in foreign parts have invariably carried this institution with them. We find it among the Libyan Bedouins, and all along the bank of the Nile, up to Sennar: wherever true Arabs are settled, there is a law, that for blood an atonement must be made by blood, or by a severe fine, if the family of the person slain or wounded will agree to such a commutation. They have rendered this independent of the public administration of justice, and have given the blood-revenge into the hands of the sufferer's family or of his friends, persuaded that a judicial punishment would not satisfy a person who had been so seriously hurt and insulted in private, and to whom the law of nature gave the right of revenge. The system of the Arabs' political corporation would prevent the arising of any public disorder from the retaliation between individuals; every clan would stand forward in protection of any of its members unjustly persecuted; and it seems, that in a rude state of society, whenever the security of the whole is not affected, each person has full right to retaliate an injury upon his neighbour. The Arab regards this blood-revenge as one of his most sacred rights, as well as duties; no earthly consideration could induce him to relinquish it: and even among the degenerate and enslaved race of Egyptian peasants, trembling under the iron rod of Mohammed Ali, a Fellah plunges his dagger into the breast of the man who has murdered his brother, although he knows, that his own life must be forfeited for the deed; for that Pasha has endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to suppress every remaining spark of independent feeling among his subjects.

The stronger and the more independent a tribe is, the more remote from cultivated provinces, and the wealthier its individuals, the less frequently are the rights of the *Thar* commuted into a fine. Great sheikhs, all over the Desert, regard it as a shame-

* That is, within the fifth generation.

ful transaction to compromise in any degree for the blood of their relations; but when the tribe is poor, and infected by the paltry spirit of neighbouring settlers in cultivated districts, the fine (or *dye*) is frequently accepted. To give up the right of personal revenge as well as of this fine, is a matter of, which they cannot even form any notion, and the Arabs have a proverbial saying, "Were hell-fire to be my lot, I would not relinquish the *Thar*."

The fine for blood varies in almost every tribe. Among the Beni Harb, in Hedjaz, it is eight hundred dollars. The same sum has been fixed by the Wahaby chief, following the rule prescribed in the time of Mohammed, when Abu Beker declared the price of a free man's blood to be one hundred she-camels. Saoud has estimated every she-camel at eight dollars, and thus made it a sum of eight hundred dollars. He has done all in his power, to induce the Arabs throughout his dominions to give up this long-established right of private revenge, and to accept the fine in its stead. But he has seldom been able to prevail over their ancient prejudices: and the Bedouins feel much ill-will towards him for his endeavours to abrogate a law, which they regard as sacred.

Whenever an Arab has entered into a compromise with the family, to whom he owes blood, he addresses himself to his relations and friends, soliciting from them some contributions in sheep and lambs, that he may be enabled to make up the sum required. Among some tribes it is a custom, that contributions should be made, in proportionable shares, by all the individuals comprised within the *khomse*, and who are therefore liable themselves to suffer from the blood-debt, in case no payment of another kind be accepted. But this is not a general rule; and the *dammawy* or homicide in many tribes must make up the sum himself, with his brothers and father only.

But in those tribes where contributions are made, the Arabs evince great liberality, when the man who asks their assistance is liked by his people. Their gifts are so abundant from every quarter, that he is not only enabled to make up the sum required, but is often enriched by the surplus; which, the debt being paid, remains with him as his own property. On such occasions, they likewise go about among their friends of foreign tribes soliciting assistance. This is seldom refused. A similar kindness is expected in cases of emergency; and there is no circumstance in which the Bedouins more fully prove the af-

section which they entertain for each other, as members of one great nation, than when they are thus called upon for their contributions. They may indeed be considered, on such occasions, as partners belonging to one extensive company, in the gains and losses of which every individual is more or less interested.

The same demand for assistance is made, whenever the cattle of an Arab has been driven off by the enemy. His friends never hesitate to contribute towards the reparation of his loss, although not always so liberally as in the cases mentioned above; when, besides their friendship for the sufferer, they are impelled by a national feeling: for a tribe esteems itself honoured by enumerating among its individuals, men who have slain enemies, and are therefore supposed to be persons of valour. If the sheikh of a tribe should happen to lose his property, by the attack of an enemy, all his Arabs voluntarily hasten to his relief; and if he be a favourite, they soon reinstate him to the full amount of the cattle, which he had lost.

When an atonement for blood is to be made among the Arabs of Sinai, the relations of the dammawy appoint a place of meeting with the family of the man who has been killed, that an arrangement may be settled; the killed man's friends having consented to the meeting. At the time fixed, both parties repair to the place appointed, with their wives, children, and all other relations: there they pass several days in feasting, and every guest that arrives is treated with great hospitality. Those, to whom the blood is due, then make their claims. As there does not exist any certain fine, or *dye*, among these Sinai Arabs (nor indeed among several other tribes), the sum at first demanded is exorbitant; but all the persons in company immediately agree in soliciting a diminution. For instance, a woman presents herself before the nearest relation of the deceased, and conjures him, by the head of his own infant child, to grant, for her sake, an abatement of two or three dollars. A respectable sheikh then declares, that he will not eat any food, until an abatement of one camel shall have been made for his sake; and, in this manner, all who are present crowd about the man who claims the fine for blood, and who at first assumes a very lofty tone, but allows himself to be flattered into a display of generosity, gradually remitting dollar after dollar, until a sum is at last mentioned which all parties agree in thinking a fair equivalent: this is paid by instalments at monthly intervals, and always punctually discharged. Among those Arabs, twenty or

thirty camels generally suffice to settle the business. They likewise give, on such occasions, in payment, some of the date-trees which abound in the vallies of Sinai occupied by Bedouins.

It may be agreed perhaps to accept for the blood a fine comparatively small; but in this case the debtor (that is, he who killed the man) must acknowledge, that himself and his family are *hhasnai* (or persons in a state of obligation) to the other's representative: a declaration which gratifies the pride of one party, as much as it mortifies the other, and is therefore not often made, although it is not attended by any other consequence; in fact it is merely a nominal obligation. If adopted, it remains for ever in the two families. The Omran and Heywat Arabs observe this custom.

The Oulad Aly, a powerful Libyan tribe of Bedouins, inhabiting the desert between Fayoum and Alexandria, make it a rule never to receive the price of blood, unless the homicide, or one of his nearest kindred, should brave the danger of introducing himself into the tent of the person slain, and then say to the relations, "Here I am, kill me, or accept the ransom." The nearest relation may do as he pleases, without incurring any blame; for the stranger has voluntarily renounced the right of *dakheil*, which all the Libyan tribes hold as sacred as the Arabian. A man who gives himself up in this manner is called *mestatheneb*. If the enemy should meet him before he reaches his tent, an attack is almost always the result. If he enter the tent, a ransom is most commonly accepted; but instances to the contrary sometimes happen.

The two tribes of Omran and Heywat act upon a rule, which forms an exception to the general Bedouin system of blood-revenge remaining within the "*khomse*." When one of their people is killed by an unknown hand of a known tribe, they think themselves justified in retaliating upon any individual of that tribe, either innocent or guilty; and if the affair be compromised, the whole tribe contribute to make up the *dye*, or fine, in proportion to the respective property of each tent. For this reason, the Arabs say, that "the Omran and Heywat strike sideways,"—a practice which is much dreaded by their neighbours.

Among several other tribes, the blood of those who fall by the unknown hand of a known tribe is demanded from the sheikh, who pays the fine, to which his Arabs contribute. This practice,

however, is not by any means general ; and among the warlike tribes of the Eastern parts, whoever perishes by an unknown hand cannot be avenged by any legal proceedings ; although the Bedouins say, that two tribes will never be on terms of sincere friendship, as long as they know that blood continues unavenged between them.

The Arabs entertain such notions respecting the solemnity and sacredness of an oath, that when a man is even falsely suspected of having killed another, and the relations of the person slain tender to the accused an oath, by taking which he might free himself from the imputation, he sometimes agrees to pay the fine rather than swear. Whatever may be the consequences of taking an oath, it is considered as a permanent stain on the reputation of an Arab to have ever sworn a solemn oath. The formula, by which a charge of homicide is denied, I shall here set down :—

“By God! I have not pierced any skin,
Nor rendered orphan any boy.”

If a man be wounded in a scuffle, and should afterwards kill his antagonist, no allowance is made for the wound, but the full fine for killing a man is imposed, even though the slain person may have been the aggressor. Had not the man been killed, the wounded person would have received a considerable fine, as a recompense for the injury which he had suffered.

Among the Arabs of Sinai, when a murder happens, the aggressor either flies, or endeavours to compromise the affair by paying a fine ; he therefore places himself under the protection of some venerable men of his tribe. To this protection the friends of the deceased pay due respect during the space of thirty days. If, before the lapse of that time, he should not be able to effect an arrangement, he must fly, or expect that his life will be sacrificed to the deadly vengeance of his enemies.

What I have already said of “slaughter,” (*dhebahh*, is applicable to all tribes of Bedouins. In their wars with each other they make a distinction between “blood” and “slaughter,” having recourse to the latter only in cases of considerable irritation. It frequently happens, and especially among the mountain Arabs, (whose wars are always more sanguinary and inveterate than those among the inhabitants of plains, perhaps because less

frequent,) that one tribe puts to death all the males of their enemies whom they can possibly seize, without inquiring what number of their own people had been slaughtered by their adversaries. These, of course, retaliate, whenever an opportunity offers.

The general slaughter, where no one ever asks, or ever grants quarter, is still in practice among the Red-Sea Arabs, those of Southern Syria, and of Sinai; but peace is usually soon concluded and causes a cessation of the bloodshed. An Arab would be censured by his tribe, were he not to follow the general practice, or allow himself to be influenced by the dictates of humanity, should his companions resolve upon the slaughter. I believe that the cruel Israelitish slaughter of the captive kings (that is, Bedouin Sheikhs, for so the word *emîr*, or *malek*, must be translated,) may be traced to a similar custom prevalent in former times; and the chiefs might have insisted upon a strict adherence to the ancient usage, apprehending that a dereliction of it would tend to weaken the martial spirit of their nation, and render them less respected among their neighbours. Even now, Bedouins would be severely reproved by others for sparing the lives of individuals belonging to a tribe that would not shew mercy to them.

HOSPITALITY.

To be a Bedouin, is to be hospitable; his condition is so intimately connected with hospitality that no circumstances, however urgent or embarrassing, can ever palliate his neglect of that social virtue. It cannot, however, be denied, that in some instances their hospitality proceeds from vanity, and a desire of distinguishing themselves among their equals in the tribe. But if we could minutely examine the true motives of action in most men, we should find that virtue is seldom practised merely for its own sake, and that some secret accessory spring is often necessary to prompt the heart; charity, and the consciousness of our own frailty, thus teach us to respect even this secondary merit; and we must value a person for his virtuous actions, were they even dictated by policy. Where all foreigners are so much disliked, as among the Bedouins, we cannot wonder that their hospitality should be principally exercised towards each other: but I should myself be guilty of ingratitude for many proofs of kindness and commiseration, bestowed on me in

the desert, were I to deny that the hospitality of Bedouins extends to all classes, and is combined with a spirit of charity that eminently distinguishes those Arabs from their neighbours, the Turks : it is also better suited to the morals of a religion which they are taught to curse, than to the religion which they acknowledge.

As the Turks possess very few good qualities, it would be unfair to deny that they are in a certain degree charitable, that is, they sometimes give food to hungry people ; but even this branch of charity they do not extend so far as the Bedouins, and their favours are bestowed with so much ostentation that they lose half their merit. After an acquaintance of two or three days, a Turk will boast of the many unfortunate persons, whom he has clothed and fed, and the distribution of his alms in the feast of Ramadhan, when both law and fashion call upon him for charity ; and he offers a complete picture of the Pharisee in the temple of Jerusalem. It must, however, be allowed, that charity towards the poor is more generally practised in all parts of the East than in Europe ; while, on the other hand, an honest but unfortunate man, ashamed to beg, yet wanting more than a scanty dish of rice, will probably find assistance in Europe sooner than in the East. Here, it seems to be the rich man's pride that he should have a train about him—a train of needy persons whom he barely keeps from starving, while they go almost naked, or blazon in the town his wonderful generosity, whenever he distributes among them some of his old tattered clothes.

The influx of foreign manners, by which no nation has ever benefited, seems to be pernicious in its effect upon the Bedouins ; for they have lost much of their excellent qualities in those parts where they are exposed to the continual passage of strangers. Thus, on the pilgrim road, both of the Syrian and Egyptian caravan, little mercy is ever shown to *hadjys* in distress. The hospitality or assistance of the Bedouins in those places can only be purchased by foreigners with money ; and the stories related by pilgrims, even if not exaggerated, would be sufficient to make the most impartial judge form a very bad opinion of Bedouins in general. This is also the case in Hedjaz, and principally between Mekka and Medina, where the caravan-travellers have as little chance of obtaining any thing from the hospitality of the Bedouins on the road, as if they were among the treacherous inhabitants of the Nubian Desert.

Yet, even in those places, a helpless solitary traveller is sure of finding relief; and the immense distance of space between Mekka and Damascus is often traversed by a poor single Syrian, who trusts altogether to Bedouin hospitality for the means of subsistence during his journey. Among such poor people, as Bedouins generally are, no stronger proof of hospitality can be given than to state, that, with very few exceptions, a hungry Bedouin will always divide his scanty meal with a still more hungry stranger, although he may not himself have the means of procuring a supply; nor will he ever let the stranger know how much he has sacrificed to his necessities.

The instances recorded by ancient writers of Arabian hospitality, seem frequently to me much exaggerated, or to describe a foolish prodigality, which neither honours the heart nor the head of the donor. To alight from one's horse, and bestow it upon a beggar who asks alms, and perhaps to give him also one's clothes, is a kind of whimsical ostentatious profusion that partakes more of folly than of generosity. This may be recognised in the late Mourad Bey of Egypt, loudly celebrated for munificence because, not happening to have any money about him, he gave to a beggar his poniard, mounted with jewels, and reckoned worth three thousand pounds. Similar acts generally answer their purpose in the East, where people's minds are dazzled rather than convinced; but they as little answer the purpose of well-directed charity, as the bags of money which the miser deposits in a secret chamber.

It cannot, however, be denied, that even now frequent instances occur among Bedouins, which evince hospitality carried to a pitch that might almost appear unnatural or affected, even to a generous European, but which is strictly consistent with the laws established in the desert; and I find the more pleasure in mentioning an anecdote on that subject, from its resemblance to a story related of Hatem el Tay, the most generous of ancient Arabs. Djerba, the present powerful sheikh of Beni Shammar in Mesopotamia, who is intimately connected in politics with the pashalic of Baghdad, was, many years ago, encamped in the province of Djebel Shammar, in the eastern desert, at a time when Arabia suffered most severely from dearth and famine. The cattle of himself and of his Arabs had already mostly perished from want of food, as no rain had fallen for a considerable time: at length there remained, of all the cattle, only two camels, which belonged to him. Under these circum-

stances, two respectable strangers alighted at his tent, and it was necessary to set a supper before them. No provisions of any kind were left in his own tent, nor could the tents of his Arabs furnish a morsel: dry roots and shrubs of the desert had for several days served as food to these people, and it was impossible to find either a goat or a lamb for the strangers' entertainment. Djerba could not bear the thought of allowing his guests to pass the night without supper; or that they should retire hungry to sleep. He therefore commanded that one of his two camels should be killed. To this his wife objected, alleging that their children were too weak to follow the camp next morning on foot, and that the camels were absolutely necessary for the removal of his own family and of some of his neighbours' wives and children. "We are hungry, it is true," said one of the guests, "but we are convinced of the validity of your arguments; and we shall trust to the mercy of God, for finding a supply of food somewhere to-morrow: yet," added he, "shall we be the cause that Djerba's enemies should reproach him for allowing a guest to be hungry in his tent?" This well-meant remark stung the noble-minded sheikh to the soul; he silently went out of the tent, laid hold on his mare, (the only treasure he possessed besides his camels,) and throwing her on the ground, was engaged in tying her feet that he might kill her for his guests, when he heard from afar the noise of approaching camels; he paused, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing two camels arrive, loaded with rice, which had been sent to him as a present from the province of Kasym. Of this anecdote I cannot doubt the truth, having heard it related frequently by Arabs of provinces totally different.

Whoever travels among Bedouins, whether rich or poor, and wishes to be on friendly terms with them, must imitate, as far as he can, their system of hospitality—yet without any appearance of prodigality, which would inspire his companions with a belief that he possessed immense wealth, and would render his progress difficult, in proportion to their increasing demands of money. He must likewise condescend (if it can be called condescension) to treat the Bedouins on terms of equality, and not with the haughtiness of a Turkish grandee, as travellers too frequently do. A Bedouin will be sociable, and prove himself a pleasant companion, without ever becoming insolent or impertinent, which is always the case with Syrians or Egyptians, whenever they are admitted to familiarity. That they may learn

respect, it is necessary to keep them at a proper distance ; and they easily submit to this treatment, because they are not accustomed to any other. But, in living with a Bedouin, his feelings must not be wounded ; he must be treated with friendliness ; and in return he will seek for an opportunity of proving to you, that in his own desert he is a greater man than yourself. And why not treat kindly a man, who, if you were in the most abject and forlorn condition, would certainly treat you as a brother ?

As a hint to travellers, I must here add, that letters of recommendation to *independent* Bedouin sheikhs are of very little use. If one of these sheikhs once promise to conduct a person in safety, he will keep his word, without considering how the traveller comes recommended to him ; and a letter of the strongest recommendation, even if it were written by a Pasha (provided that the latter have no direct influence over the tribe), is but little regarded. The more a stranger is recommended, the more he must pay, and the more insatiable becomes the sheikh. Therefore, a traveller will do well to go amongst Bedouins as a poor man, or else to pay for his passage through their country by dint of money, without foreign aid.

Many tribes have the national reputation of being generous ; others are reckoned stingy. Among the latter is the Beni Harb, a considerable tribe in the Desert of Hedjaz. The great profits which they derive from the Hadj caravans have perhaps rendered them parsimonious in proportion as they became more desirous of wealth. The same reputation of stinginess is attached to the Bedouins about Mekka, especially to the Koreysh, now a full tribe of from two to three hundred matchlocks. In the mountains of Sinai, stinginess is the reproach of a tribe called *Oulad Sayd*, a branch of the Sowaleha Arabs ; and their neighbours have a proverbial saying in rhyme, which advises a person thus—"Sleep alone, rather than among the *Oulad Sayd*."

Generous men belonging to these stigmatized tribes, have at least the advantage of rendering themselves easily conspicuous and distinguished amongst the rest ; and therefore it is said by the Arabs, that generosity is principally found among tribes reputed avaricious.

The guest, who enters an encampment of the Nedjd Bedouins usually alights at the first tent on the right side of the spot where he entered the dowar, or circle of tents. If he should pass that

tent and go to another, the owner of the slighted tent would think himself affronted.

After what has been related, it is scarcely necessary to say, that among the Aenezes a guest is regarded as sacred; his person is protected, and a violation of hospitality, by the betraying of a guest, has not occurred within the memory of man. He who has a single protector in any one tribe, becomes the friend of all the tribes connected in amity with that. Life and property may with perfect security be entrusted to an Aeneze; and wherever he goes, one may follow him; but his enemies become the enemies of the man whom he protects. The messengers between Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basrah, are always Aenezes. They formerly accompanied English gentlemen, returning from India or going there, through the desert; and although some few instances have occurred, of travellers being plundered on the road by strange tribes, it is certain that their Aeneze guides, however importunate in their demands for money, faithfully observed the engagement which they had made. I here may state a fact from my own experience.—In June 1810, I set out from Aleppo with a sheikh of the *Fedhán*: he had been plundered near Hamah by some Maualy Arabs, with whom the Aenezes were then at war. Most of his property, and the camels of his Arabs, having been restored through the influence of the mutsellim of Hamah, the sheikh continued his journey; but took fright on the Wahaby's approach to Damascus, near which city his family was encamped; he therefore refused to accompany me as far as Tedmor, but gave me a single guide to conduct me among the ruins, and proceeded on his way towards the south. I feared, at that time, that the sheikh had betrayed me; but it soon appeared that the single guide was a sufficient protector in every respect. All the Arabs whom we met received me with hospitality; and I returned with him across the desert to Jeroud, twelve hours distant from Damascus.

A guest, as well as the host himself, in an Arab tent, is liable to nocturnal depredation; certainly not from any individual of the host's family, but from *harámys* or *netáls*. Knowing, however, that such is the case, and jealous lest any circumstance should excite a suspicion of his own integrity, the host takes particular care of the stranger's mare or camel; and if rich and generous, should a robbery occur, he indemnifies the stranger

for whatever loss he may sustain while under the protection of his hospitality.

Strangers, who have not any friend or acquaintance in the camp, alight at the first tent that presents itself: whether the owner be at home or not, the wife or daughter immediately spreads a carpet, and prepares breakfast or dinner. If the stranger's business requires a protracted stay, as for instance, if he wishes to cross the desert under protection of the tribe, the host, after the lapse of three days and four hours from the time of his arrival, asks, whether he means to honour him longer with his company. If the stranger declares his intention of prolonging his visit, it is expected that he should assist his host in domestic matters, fetching water, milking the camel, feeding the horse, etc. Should he even decline this, he may remain, but will be censured by all the Arabs of the camp: he may, however, go to some other tent and declare himself there a guest. Thus every third or fourth day he may change hosts, until his business is finished, or he has reached his place of destination. The Arabs of a tribe in Nedjd welcome a guest by pouring on his head a cup of melted butter.

VIII. FEMALES.

Among people who assign to their women exclusively all the duties and menial offices of the tent, it cannot be supposed that the female sex meets with great respect. Women are regarded as beings much inferior to men, and, although seldom treated with neglect or indifference, they are always taught to consider that their sole business is cooking and working. While a girl remains unmarried, she enjoys, as a virgin, much more respect than a married woman; for the fathers think it an honour, and a source of profit, to possess a virgin in the family. Once married, a Bedouin female becomes a mere servant, busily occupied the whole day, whilst her husband lies stretched out in his own apartment, comfortably smoking his pipe. This arrangement he justifies by saying, that his wife should work at home, as he undergoes so much fatigue on journeys. Nothing distresses the Bedouin women so much as fetching water. The tents are but seldom pitched very close to a well; and if this be only at half an hour's distance from the camp, the Bedouins do not think it necessary that the water should be brought upon camels: and when asses are not to be procured, the women must carry the

water every evening on their backs in long water-skins; and they are sometimes obliged to seek a second supply at the well.¹

Among the Arabs at Sinai and those of the Egyptian Sherkieh; it is an established rule, that neither men nor boys should ever drive the cattle to pasture.² This is the exclusive duty of the unmarried girls of the camp, who perform it by turns.³ They set out before sunrise, three or four together, carrying some water and victuals with them, and they return late in the evening. Among other Bedouins, slaves or servants take the flocks to pasture.

Thus early accustomed to such fatiguing duties, the Sinai women are as hardy as the men. I have seen those females running barefooted over sharp rocks where I, well shod, could with difficulty step along. During the whole day they continue exposed to the sun, carefully watching the sheep; for they are sure of being severely beaten by their father, should any be lost. If a man of their tribe passes by the pasturing ground, they offer to him some sheep's milk, or share with him their scanty stock of water, as kindly as their parents would have treated him in their tent. On other occasions, the Bedouin women, seeing a man pass on the road, sit down and turn their backs towards him; nor will they ever receive any thing from the hands of a stranger (who is not a relation) into their own hands, unless some friends be present. I have frequently passed women on the road who asked for biscuit or flour to make bread; this was set near them upon the ground, while their backs were turned towards us; and they took it up when we had retired a few paces. It has always appeared to me, that the more a tribe is connected with the inhabitants of towns, the stricter they are with respect to the seclusion of women. In the Mekka and Sinai mountains, a woman, if addressed by any stranger, will seldom return an answer: on the contrary, in the distant plains, I have freely conversed and joined in laughter with Aeneze, Harb, and Howeytat women. Their morals probably may be

¹ Comp. Gen. 24: 13 sq.—Ed.

² Among the Sinai Arabs, a boy would feel himself insulted were any one to say, "Go and drive your father's sheep to pasture;" these words, in his opinion, would signify, "You are no better than a girl."

³ Comp. Gen. 29: 6 sq. Ex. 2: 16 sq.—Ed.

rated in an inverse proportion to the pains taken for preserving them.

The respect which Bedouins bear to their mothers is much more exemplary, than that which they evince towards their fathers.

IX. SAGACITY IN TRACING FOOTSTEPS.

Here I must offer some observations on a talent which the Bedouins possess, in common with the free Indians of America—the faculty of distinguishing footsteps, both of men and beasts, upon the ground. In the American woods the impression is made upon grass, in Arabia upon sand; and in the examination of these impressions, the Americans and the Arabs are, perhaps, equally skilful. Although it may be said, that almost every Bedouin acquires, by practice, some knowledge in this art, yet a few only of the most enterprising and active men excel in it. The Arab, who has applied himself diligently to the study of footsteps, can generally ascertain, from inspecting the impression, to what individual of his own, or of some neighbouring tribe, the footstep belongs; and therefore is able to judge whether it was a stranger who passed, or a friend. He likewise knows, from the slightness or depth of the impression, whether the man who made it carried a load or not. From the strength or faintness of the trace he can also tell whether the man passed on the same day, or one day or two days before. From a certain regularity of intervals between the steps, a Bedouin can judge whether the man whose feet left the impression was fatigued or not; as, after fatigue, the pace becomes more irregular, and the intervals unequal. Hence he can calculate the chance of overtaking a man.

Besides all this, every Arab knows the printed footsteps of his own camels, and of those belonging to his immediate neighbours. He knows by the depth or slightness of the impression whether a camel was pasturing, and therefore not carrying any load, or mounted by one person only, or heavily loaded. If the marks of the two fore feet appear to be deeper in the sand than those of the hind feet, he concludes that the camel had a weak breast, and this serves him as a clue to ascertain the owner. In fact, a Bedouin, from the impressions of a camel's or of his driver's footsteps, draws so many conclusions, that he always learns something concerning the beast or its owner; and in some

cases this mode of acquiring knowledge appears almost supernatural. The Bedouin sagacity in this respect is wonderful, and becomes particularly useful in the pursuit of fugitives, or in searching after cattle.

I have seen a man discover and trace the footsteps of his camel in a sandy valley, where thousands of other footsteps crossed the road in every direction; and this person could tell the name of every one who had passed there in the course of that morning. I myself found it often useful to know the impression made by the feet of my own companions and camels; as from circumstances which inevitably occur in the desert, travellers sometimes are separated from their friends. In passing through dangerous districts, the Bedouin guides will seldom permit a townsman or stranger to walk by the side of his camel. If he wears shoes, every Bedouin who passes will know by the impression that some townsman has travelled that way; and if he walks barefooted, the mark of his step, less full than that of a Bedouin, immediately betrays the foot of a townsman, little accustomed to walk. It is therefore to be apprehended, that the Bedouins, who regard every townsman as a rich man, might suppose him loaded with valuable property, and accordingly set out in pursuit of him. A keen Bedouin guide is constantly and exclusively occupied during his march in examining footsteps, and frequently alights from his camel to acquire certainty respecting their nature. I have known instances of camels being traced by their masters, during a distance of six days' journeys, to the dwelling of the man who had stolen them.

Many secret transactions are brought to light by this knowledge of the *Athr*, or "footsteps;" and a Bedouin can scarcely hope to escape detection in any clandestine proceeding, as his passage is recorded upon the road in characters that every one of his Arabian neighbours can read.

X. HORSES.

It is a general but erroneous opinion that Arabia is very rich in horses; but the breed is limited to the extent of fertile pasture grounds in that country, and it is in such parts only that horses thrive, while those Bedouins who occupy districts of poor soil rarely possess any horses. It is found, accordingly, that the tribes most rich in horses are those who dwell in the comparatively fertile plains of Mesopotamia, on the banks of the

river Euphrates, and in the Syrian plains. Horses can there feed for several of the spring months upon the green grass and herbs produced by the rains in the vallies and fertile grounds, and such food seems absolutely necessary for promoting the full growth and vigour of the horse. We find that in Nedjd horses are not nearly so numerous as in the countries before mentioned, and they become scarce in proportion as we proceed towards the south.

In Hedjaz, especially in the mountainous regions of that country, and thence on towards Yemen, but few horses are to be seen, and these few are imported from the north. The Aeneze tribes on the frontiers of Syria have from eight to ten thousand horses; and some smaller tribes roving about that neighbourhood possess, probably, half as many. To the single tribe of Montefek Arabs, in the desert watered by the river Euphrates, between Baghdad and Basrah, we may assign at least eight thousand horses, and the tribes of Dhofyr and Beni Shammar are proportionably rich in those noble quadrupeds; while the province of Nedjd, Djebel Shammar, and Kasym, (that is from the vicinity of the Persian Gulf, as far as Medinah,) do not possess above ten thousand.

Among the great tribes on the Red Sea, between Akaba and Mekka, and to the south and south-east of Mekka as far as Yemen, horses are very scarce, especially among those of the mountainous districts. In the eastern plain between Beishe and Nedjran, horses are rather more numerous. The tribe of Kah-tan, residing in that quarter, is celebrated for its excellent studs; and the same may be said of the Dowaser tribe.

The settled inhabitants of Hedjaz and Yemen are not much in the habit of keeping horses; and I believe it may be stated as a moderate and fair calculation, that between five and six thousand constitute the greatest number of horses in the country from Akaba or the north point of the Red Sea, southwards to the shores of the ocean near Hadramaut, comprising the great chain of mountains and the lower grounds on the west of it, towards the sea. The great heat of the climate in Oman is reckoned unfavourable to the breeding of horses, which are there still more scarce than in Yemen. When I affirm, therefore, that the aggregate number of horses in Arabia, (as bounded by the river Euphrates and by Syria,) does not exceed fifty thousand, (a number much inferior to what the same extent of ground in any other part of Asia or in Europe would furnish,)

I am confident that my calculation is not by any means under the true estimate.

In this part of the East, I know not any country that seems to abound more in horses than Mesopotamia; the tribes of Curdes and Bedouins in that quarter probably possess greater numbers than all the Arabian Bedouins together, for the richness of the Mesopotamian pasture contributes materially to augment the breed.

The best pasturing places of Arabia not only produce the greatest number of horses, but likewise the finest and most select race. The best Koheyls of the *khomse* are found in Nedjd, on the Euphrates, and in the Syrian deserts: while in the southern parts of Arabia, and particularly in Yemen, no good breed exists but those which have been imported from the north. The Bedouins of Hedjaz have but few horses, their main strength consisting in camel-riders and foot-soldiers, armed with matchlocks only. In all the country from Mekka to Medinah, between the mountains and the sea, a distance of at least two hundred and sixty miles, I do not believe that two hundred horses could be found; and the same proportion of numbers may be remarked all along the Red Sea, from Yembo up to Akaba.

The united armies of all the southern Wahaby chiefs who attacked Mohammed Aly Pasha in the year 1815, at Byssel, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, had with them only five hundred horsemen, mostly belonging to Nedjd, and the followers of Faisal, one of Saoud's sons, who was present with the troops.

Both the climate and pasture of Yemen are reckoned injurious to the health of horses: many of them die from disease in that country, where they never thrive; indeed, the race begins to fall off in the very first generation. The Imám of Sana, and all the governors of Yemen, derive an annual supply of horses from Nedjd, and the inhabitants of the sea-coast receive considerable numbers by way of Sowakin from the countries bordering on the Nile. The horses taken in 1810, by the Rowalla Arabs, from the defeated troops of the Pasha of Baghdad, were all sold by them to the horse-dealers of Nedjd, and by the latter to the Arabs of Yemen; who are not, it may be here observed, by any means so nice and fastidious in choosing blood horses, as their northern neighbours. During the government of the Wahaby chief, horses became more scarce every year among his Arabs. They were sold by their owners to foreign pur-

chasers, who took them to Yemen, Syria, and Basra; from which last-mentioned place the Indian market was supplied with Arabian horses, because they feared that Saoud or his successor might have seized them; for it had become the custom, upon any slight pretext of disobedience or unlawful conduct, to confiscate a Bedouin's mare as a forfeit to the public treasury. The possession of a mare, besides, imposed an obligation on the Bedouin of being in constant readiness to attend his chief during his wars; therefore many Arabs preferred the alternative of being altogether without horses.

In the district of Djebel Shammar, many encampments have been lately seen without a single horse, and it is well known that the Meteyr Arabs (between Medinah and Kasym) reduced the number of their horses, within a few years, from two thousand to twelve hundred. The late Sherif of Mekka possessed an excellent stud of horses: the best stallions of Nedjd were taken to Mekka for sale, and it became a fashion among the Bedouin women going on a pilgrimage to Mekka, that they should bring their husbands' stallions as presents to the Sherif, for which, however, they received in return, silk stuffs, ear-rings, and similar articles.

From all that has come to my knowledge, on the very best authority, I have no hesitation in saying, that the finest race of Arabian blood horses may be found in Syria; and that of all the Syrian districts, the most excellent in this respect is the Hauran, where the horses may be purchased at first cost, and chosen among the camps of the Arabs themselves, who occupy the plains in spring time. The horses bought up at Basra for the Indian market are purchased at second hand from Bedouin dealers, and an Arab will rarely condescend to offer a good horse at a distant market without a certainty of selling it. True blood horses of the khomse, as I have been credibly informed, seldom find their way to Basra; and most of the horses purchased there for the Indian market belong to the Montefyk Arabs, who are not very solicitous about giving a pure breed. It might perhaps be advisable for the great European powers to have persons properly qualified, employed in purchasing horses for them in Syria, as the best mode of crossing and ennobling their own studs. Damascus would be the best position for the establishment of such persons. I am induced to suspect that very few true Arabian horses, of the best breeds, and still less any of the first rate among them, have ever been imported into

England, although many horses of Syria, Barbary, and Egypt, have passed under the name of Arabs.

The Bedouins are of opinion that an Egyptian mare coupled with a blood Arabian produces a good breed, much better than that of the indigenous Syrian mares, whose breed is not considered of any value, even though crossed by the Koheyl. It would be erroneous to suppose, that the horses of the khomse, or the noble breed, are all of the most perfect or distinguished quality and beauty. Among the descendants of the famous horse Eclipse may be found mere hacks; thus I have seen many Koheyl that had little more to recommend them than their name, although the power of bearing considerable fatigue seems common to all of the desert race. The fine horses, however, of the khomse are far more numerous than the common horses belonging to the same breed; but still, among those fine horses, there can be found only a few worthy of being entitled "first rate," in respect to size, bone, beauty, and action; perhaps not above five or six among a whole tribe. It seems a fair and probable calculation to say, that the Syrian deserts do not furnish more than two hundred of that pre-eminent description, each of which may be estimated, in the desert itself, at from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds. Of these latter, I believe that very few, if any, have ever found their way to Europe, although it is through them alone that any successful attempt could be made to ennoble and improve the European race, while the horses usually exported are all of the second or third quality.

The Hedjaz Bedouins are accustomed to purchase mares from the Egyptian pilgrim caravan, and the fillies produced between these mares and good stallions they sell to the Arabs of Yemen. I never saw any geldings in the interior of the desert.

In Egypt itself, on the borders of the Nile, there is not any breed of horses particularly distinguished. The finest of that country are produced in those districts where the best clover grows; which is in Upper Egypt, about Tahta, Akhmim, and Farshiout, and in Lower Egypt, in the territory of Menzaleh. Very few Arabian blood horses ever come to Egypt, a circumstance not surprising, since their remarkable quality, the power of supporting fatigue, is but little requisite on the fertile borders of the Nile.

The Egyptian horse is ugly and of a coarse make, resembling more a coach horse than a racer. His chief defects are,

clumsy legs and knees, a short and thick neck. The head is sometimes fine; but I never saw an Egyptian horse having handsome legs.

They are not able to bear any considerable fatigue; but those that are well fed display much more brilliant action than the Arabian horses: their impetuosity renders them particularly desirable for heavy cavalry, and it is from this quality of the horse that the Egyptian cavalry have always founded their claim to celebrity. In their first onset the Egyptian horses are much superior to the Arabian; but when long marches become necessary, and the duties of light cavalry required, the Egyptians prove themselves infinitely less useful than the Koheyl.

The Libyan Bedouins derive their supplies of horses from their own breeds, as well as from Egypt. In the interior of the desert, and towards Barbary, they are said to have preserved the ancient breeds of Arabian horses; but this is not the case in the vicinity of Egypt, where the peculiar races are as little distinguished as among the Egyptians. Like the Arabian Bedouins, those Libyans exclusively ride mares.

Respecting the pedigrees of Arabian horses I must here add, that in the interior of the desert the Bedouins never refer to any among themselves; for they as well know the whole genealogy of their horses, as they do that of the owners. But when they take their horses to market at any town, such as Basra, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Medinah, or Mekka, they carry along with them a written pedigree, which they present to the purchaser; and it is only on such occasions that a Bedouin is ever found to possess the written pedigree of his horse; while, on the other hand, in the interior of the desert itself, he would laugh at being asked for the pedigree of his mare. This may serve to correct an erroneous account, elsewhere given, on the subject of such pedigrees.

In Upper Egypt the Maazy and Heteym Arabs, occupying the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, have preserved among them the breed of the khomse. As in Arabia, horses are possessed by them in partnership. They divide each horse into twenty-four shares, or *kerat* (according to the division of landed property in Egypt, which is always by kerats), and different persons buy three, four, or eight kerats of the mare, and share proportionably in the benefits arising from the sale of the young breed. So little is known concerning the true breed of horses among the soldiers in Egypt, that when in the year 1812

Ibrahim Pasha's troops took ten Koheyl horses belonging to Heteym, the soldiers sold them one to another, as if they had been common Egyptian horses; while their former possessors valued them at least three times beyond that amount.

For a hundred Spanish dollars a good cavalry horse may, at any time, be purchased in Egypt. The highest price paid for an Egyptian horse is three hundred dollars; but for this horse a Bedouin would not give fifty dollars. The Mamelouks formerly esteemed the Koheyl of the desert, and expended considerable sums in propagating their breed in Egypt. The present masters of this country have not the same passion for fine horses as their predecessors; who, in many respects, had adopted Arab notions, and had made it a fashion among them to acquire a competent knowledge of horses, and to keep their stables upon a most extravagant establishment.

Here may be added to the names of Arabian breeds already mentioned:—

El Thâmerye, of the Koheyl race.

El Nezakhhy, a breed of the *Hadaba*. Some tribes reckon the *Nezakhhy* stallions among the number of blood horses.

The *Manekye* and *Djofse* are not considered as belonging to the *khomse* by the Arabs of *Nedjd*.

The *Hadaba* and *Dahma* breeds are much esteemed in *Nedjd*.

The horses of the *Messenna* breed (of the Koheyl race) are never used in *Nedjd* as stallions.

The Bedouins use all the horses of the *khomse* exclusively as stallions. The first horse produced by a mare belonging to a race not comprehended within the *khomse*, would, notwithstanding its beauty, and perhaps superior qualities, never be employed as a breeder. The favourite mare of Saoud, the Wahaby chief, which he constantly rode on his expeditions, and whose name, *Keraye*, became famous all over Arabia, brought forth a horse of uncommon beauty and excellence. The mare, however, not being of the *khomse*, Saoud would not permit his people to use that fine horse as a stallion; and not knowing what to do with it, as Bedouins never ride horses, he sent it as a present to the Sherif. The mare, *Keraye*, had been purchased by Saoud from a Bedouin of the Kahtan Arabs for fifteen hundred dollars.

A troop of Druses on horseback attacked, in the summer of 1815, a party of Bedouins in Hauran, and drove them into their encampment, where they were in turn assailed by a superior

force, and all killed except one man, who fled. He was pursued by several of the best mounted Bedouins; but his mare, although fatigued, continued her speed for several hours, and could not be overtaken. Before his pursuers gave up the chase they cried out to him, promising quarter and safe conduct, and begging that he would allow them to kiss the forehead of his excellent mare. Upon his refusal, they desisted from pursuing, and, blessing the generous creature, they exclaimed, addressing her owner, "Go and wash the feet of your mare, and drink up the water." This expression is used by the Bedouins to show their great love for such mares, and their sense of the services which they have rendered.

The Bedouins in general do not allow their mares to breed until they have completed their fifth year; but the poorer classes, who are eager for the profits arising from the sale of foals, sometimes wait no longer than the completion of the fourth year.

The price paid in Nedjd, when a stallion is occasionally hired, merely for the purpose of breeding, is one Spanish dollar; but the owner of the horse is entitled to decline the acceptance of this dollar as payment: if he think fit, he may wait until the mare brings forth. Should she produce a filly, he may claim a she-camel of one year; if the offspring prove male, he takes, in like manner, a young he-camel, as payment for the use of his stallion.

The Bedouins never allow a horse, at the moment of its birth, to fall upon the ground: they receive it in their arms, and so cherish it for several hours, occupied in washing and stretching its tender limbs, and caressing it as they would a baby. After this they place it on the ground, and watch its feeble steps with particular attention, prognosticating from that time the excellencies or defects of their future companion.

In Nedjd, the people feed their horses regularly upon dates. At Derayah, and in the country of El Hassa, dates are mixed with the *birsém*, or dried clover, and given to them as food. Barley, however, is the most usual provender throughout all parts of Arabia. The wealthy inhabitants of Nedjd frequently give flesh to their horses, raw as well as boiled, together with all the fragments of their own meals. I know a man at Hamah, in Syria, who assured me that he had often given to his horses roasted meat before the commencement of a fatiguing journey, that they might be the better able to endure it. The same person also related to me, that fearing lest the governor of the town

should take a liking to his favourite horse, he fed it for a fortnight exclusively upon roasted pork, which excited its spirit and mettle to such a height, that it became absolutely unmanageable, and could be no longer an object of desire to the governor.

I have seen vicious horses in Egypt cured of the habit of biting, by presenting to them, while in the act of doing so, a leg of mutton just taken from the fire: the pain which a horse feels in biting through the hot meat causes it, after a few lessons, to abandon the vicious habit. Egyptian horses are much less gentle in their temper than the Arabian; they are often vicious—the Arabians scarcely ever—and require to be constantly tied, while the Arab horses wander freely and quietly about the camps like camels. Egyptian grooms are celebrated all over the East for their treatment of horses; insomuch that the Pashas and grandees throughout Asiatic Turkey make it a rule to have always a couple of them in their service. They curry the horse three or four times a day, and devote so much of their time and trouble to it, that it is usual in all parts of Egypt to have as many grooms as horses in the stable, each groom having the peculiar charge of one horse only.

The Wahaby chief, who possesses, indisputably, the finest stud of horses in the whole East, never allows his mares to be mounted until they have completed their fourth year. The common Bedouins, however, frequently ride them even before they have attained their third year.

It has been forbidden by the Wahaby chief, that his Arabs should sell one third of a mare, as frequently is practised by the Northern Aenezes. He alleges, that this custom often leads to unlawful and cheating tricks: but he permits the selling of one half of the mare.

During the whole year, the Arabs keep their horses in the open air; I never saw one even in the rainy season tied up under the tent of its owner, as may frequently be observed among the Turkmen. The Arab horse, like its master, is accustomed to the inclemency of all seasons, and, with very little attention to its health, is seldom ill. The Arabs never clean or rub their horses, but are careful in walking them gently whenever they return after a ride. From the time that a colt is first mounted, (which is after its second year,) the saddle is but seldom taken off its back; in winter time a sackcloth is thrown over the saddle, in summer the horse stands exposed to the mid-day sun. Those Arabs who have no saddles, ride upon a stuffed sheep-

skin, and without stirrups ; they all ride without bridles, guiding the horse with a halter. This will not astonish the European reader, when he learns that the Bedouin horse is extremely good tempered, without any viciousness, and more the friend than the slave of his rider. The Arabs do not practise the game of the *djerid*, which often ruins the Turks' horses before they acquire perfect strength. The Arabs indeed are unacquainted with the Turkish mode of horsemanship, and those evolutions of which the Osmanlys are so vain. But their habits of riding without stirrups or bridle, of throwing the heavy lance in full gallop, and of balancing themselves, from early infancy, upon the bare back of a trotting camel, give to the Bedouin a more firm seat on his horse than the Osmanly can boast, although the latter may ride more gracefully.

The Arabs are ignorant of those frauds by which an European jockey deceives a purchaser ; one may take a horse on their word, at first sight or trial, without any risk of being cheated ; but few of them know how to ascertain a horse's age by its teeth. I once looked into the mouth of a mare, whose owner and many other Arabs were present : at first it was apprehended that I was practising some secret charm ; and when the owner heard that by such inspection the mare's age might be ascertained, he seemed astonished, and wished that I should tell his own age by an examination of his teeth.

The Arabs believe that some horses are predestined to evil accidents ; and, like the Osmanlys, they think that the owners of other horses must, sooner or later, experience certain misfortunes, which are indicated by particular marks on the horses' bodies. Thus, if a mare has a star on the right side of the neck, they believe that she is destined to be killed by a lance ; if the star be on one of the shank-bones, the owner's wife, they think, will prove unfaithful to her husband, and the orthodoxy of the latter as a Muselmán is liable to suspicion. There are above twenty evil marks of this kind, which have, at all events, the bad effect of depreciating the horse's value by two thirds or more.

The Arabs do not mark their horses, as some imagine ; but the hot iron, which they frequently apply in curing a disease, leaves an impression on the skin that appears like an intended mark.

XI. CAMELS.

Between the races of camels in the northern and southern countries, there is a considerable difference. In Syria and Mesopotamia they are covered by thick hair, and in general attain to a much greater size than in Hedjaz, where they have very little wool. The Nubian camel has short hair like a deer, as likewise the Nubian sheep; which prevents the Bedouins of that country from living under tents, (fabricated in Arabia from goat's and camel's hair), they are therefore obliged to construct portable huts made of mats and reeds; the Arabian camels are generally brown: many black camels are seen also among them. The further we approach the south in Egypt, the lighter becomes the colour. Towards Nubia the camels are mostly white, and I never saw a black one in that country.

The largest camels are those from Anadolia, of the Turkman breed: the smallest that I have seen are those from Yemen. In the eastern desert the camels reputed best for carriage, are those of the Beni Tay, in Mesopotamia, near the river Euphrates. In mountainous countries camels are certainly scarce; but it is an erroneous opinion to think that camels are not capable of ascending hills. Thus in Hedjaz their numbers are very limited, because pasture is scanty. The country most rich and abundant in camels, is undoubtedly Nedjd, entitled on that account *Om el Bel*, or "The mother of camels." It furnishes Syria, Hedjaz, and Yemen with camels, which in those countries are worth double the price paid originally for them in Nedjd. During my residence in Hedjaz, a good camel was there estimated at the price of sixty dollars; and such was the want of pasture and scarcity of provisions, that within three years, upon a moderate calculation, there died thirty thousand camels belonging to the Pasha of Egypt, at that time commanding in Hedjaz.

The Turkmen and Kurds from Anadolia purchase, every year, eight or ten thousand camels in the Syrian deserts, of which the greater number are brought there by dealers from Nedjd. They use them in propagating the breed of Turkman camels called *Maya*.

No country in the east is so remarkable for the rapid propagation of camels as Nedjd, during years of fertility. The Nedjd camels are likewise less susceptible of epidemic diseases

(and especially the *Djam*, which is much dreaded in various quarters of the desert), than any others; and on that account principally they are preferred by the Bedouins, who from the most distant parts of Arabia repair to Nedjd that they may renew their flocks.

Among the Bedouins, female camels are always more esteemed and dearer than the males. In Syria and Egypt, on the contrary, where the camels are chiefly wanted for their strength in bearing heavy loads, the males are most valued. The people who inhabit the towns and villages of Nedjd ride only she-camels on their journies, because these support thirst better than the males; but the Bedouins generally prefer he-camels for riding. The common load of an Arabian camel is from four to five hundred pounds upon a short journey, and from three to four hundred pounds on a journey of considerable distance. The camels employed between Djidda and Tayf in the year 1814, or 1815, for carrying provisions to Mohammed Aly, had loads not exceeding two hundred and fifty pounds. The well-fed and well-watered Egyptian camels are equal in strength to the Anadolian; those of the largest size at Cairo will carry three bales of coffee, or fifteen hundred weight, from the town to the water side, about three miles distant. From Cairo to Suez, the same camels will carry ten hundred weight; and that space is a journey of three days. The longer the journey to be undertaken, and the fewer wells to be found on the way, the lighter are the loads. The Darfur camels are distinguished for their size and great strength in bearing fatigue under heavy loads; in this latter quality they surpass all the camels of North-Eastern Africa. Those which accompany the Darfur caravan to Egypt, are seldom loaded with more than four quintals. The Sennâr camels generally carry three and a half, and are not equal in size to those of Darfur.

The capability of bearing thirst varies considerably among the different races of camels. The Anadolian, accustomed to cold climates, and countries copiously watered on all sides, must, every second day, have its supply of water; and if this be withheld in summer-time until the third day, on a journey, the camel often sinks under the privation. During the winter, in Syrian latitudes and in the Northern Arabian desert, camels very seldom drink unless when on a journey; the first succulent herbs sufficiently moisten their stomachs at that season of the year. In summer-time the Nedjd camel must be watered

on the evening of every fourth day ; a longer exposure to thirst on a journey would probably be fatal to him.

I believe that all over Arabia four whole days constitute the utmost extent to which camels can stretch their capability of enduring thirst in summer ; nor is it necessary that they should be compelled to thirst longer, for there is no territory in the rout of any traveller crossing Arabia where wells are farther distant than a journey of three entire days, or three and a half. In case of absolute necessity, an Arabian camel might perhaps go five days without drinking, but the traveller must never reckon upon such an extraordinary circumstance ; and after the camel has gone three whole days without water, it shows manifest signs of great distress.

The indigenous Egyptian camels are less qualified to endure fatigue than any others that I know : being from their birth well watered and fed on the fertile banks of the river Nile, they are but little accustomed to journies in the desert of any considerable length ; and during the pilgrims' march to Mekka, several of them daily perish. There are not, of any race, camels that bear thirst more patiently than those of Darfur. The caravans coming from that country to Egypt, must travel nine or ten days' journies on a rout which does not furnish any water ; and over this extent of ground they often pass during the heats of summer. It is true that many of the camels die upon the road, and no merchant undertakes such an expedition without a couple of spare camels in reserve ; but the greater number reach Egypt. There is not the slightest probability that an Arabian camel could ever perform such a journey, and still less a Syrian or Egyptian. The camels in most parts of Africa are more hardy than the Arabian.

Although I have often heard anecdotes related of Arabs who on their long journies were frequently reduced to the utmost distress by want of water, yet I never understood that a camel had been slaughtered for the sake of finding a supply in its stomach. Without absolutely denying the possibility of such a circumstance, I do not hesitate to affirm that it can have occurred but very seldom ; indeed the last stage of thirst renders a traveller so unwilling and unable to support the exertion of walking, that he continues his journey on the back of his camel in hopes of finding water, rather than expose himself to certain destruction by killing the serviceable creature. I have frequently seen camels slaughtered, but never discovered in the

stomachs of any, except those which had been watered on the same day, a copious supply of water. The Darfur caravans are often reduced to incredible sufferings by want of water; yet they never have resorted to the expedient above mentioned. It may perhaps be practised in other parts of Africa, but it seems unknown in Arabia; nor have I ever heard, either in Arabia or Nubia, that camel's urine mixed with water was used to allay the creature's thirst in cases of extreme distress.

What is called in Egypt and Africa *hedjein*, and in Arabia *deloul*, (both terms signifying the camels trained for riding,) is in fact the same race with the heavy carrying beast, distinguished from the latter only as a hunter is from a coach-horse. Whenever an Arab perceives in one of his young camels any indication of its being small and extremely active, he trains it for the purposes of riding: and if it be a female, he takes care to match her with a fine well-bred male. For the temporary use of a male camel on such occasions the price is one dollar, among the Arabian Bedouins; being the same price that is paid for the similar services of a hired stallion. The breeds which I have mentioned are those of heavy transport camels, as well as the lighter kind destined for the saddle.

In Arabia, the best camels for riding, those of the most swift and easy trot, are said to be in the province of *Oman*. The *deloul el Omány*, is celebrated in all the songs of the Arabs. While I was at Djidda, Mohammed Aly Pasha received two of those camels as a present from the Imám of Maskat; they were sent by sea. In their appearance it would not perhaps have been easy to distinguish them from other Arabian camels; their legs, however, were somewhat more straight and slender; but there was in their eyes a noble expression, and something in the whole deportment, by which, among all animals, the generous may be distinguished from the common breed. Of other *delouls* in Arabia, the breeds most esteemed are those belonging to the tribes of Howeytat, of Sebaa (an Aeneze family), and of Sherarat. In North-Eastern Africa, where the *deloul* is called *hedjein*, the Sennár breed and that of the Nubian Bedouins are much preferred to any others for riding. The Darfur camels are by much too heavy to be used as *hedjeins* for the purposes of saddle-riding.

The good Nubian *hedjeins* are so very docile, and have so swift and pleasant an amble, that they supply the want of horses better than any other camels; most of them are whitish. In

swiftness they surpass any of the various camels that I have seen throughout those parts of the east.

The name *oshâry* (implying a camel that travels in one day a ten days' journey) is known in Egypt and Nubia, where incredible stories are related concerning a race of camels that were accustomed to perform very wonderful expeditions. I have reason to doubt whether they ever existed but in the imagination of fanciful Bedouins. Were I to repeat the tales of Arabian and Nubian Bedouins on this subject, the circumstances would appear similar to those which too credulous travellers report of the Barbary camels, or a particular breed of them; circumstances which I shall never believe until they can be ascertained beyond doubt, and proved to be facts. An Ababde Bedouin told me once, at Assouan, that his grandfather went on some occasion from that place in one day to Siout, a journey of at least two hundred and fifty miles; and that the camel which had performed such an expedition, was not in the slightest degree fatigued. But I never could positively ascertain an instance of greater swiftness than what I shall immediately mention, and am persuaded that very few camels in Egypt or Nubia are capable of such an exertion.

The greatest performance of a hedjein that ever came to my knowledge, satisfactorily ascertained on credible authority, is that of a camel belonging to a Mamelouk Bey of Esne, in Upper Egypt, which he had purchased from a Bisharein chief for one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. This camel was to go for a wager, in one day between sun-rise and sun-set, from Esne to Genne and back again, the whole distance being equal to a space of one hundred and thirty miles. It arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon at a village sixteen miles distant from Esne, where its strength failed, after having travelled about one hundred and fifteen miles in eleven hours, and twice passed over the Nile in a ferry-boat; this passage across the river requiring at least twenty minutes. A good English trotting mare could do the same, or perhaps more, but probably not in such a warm climate as that of Egypt. Without so much forced exertion, that camel would probably have gone a distance of one hundred and eighty or even two hundred miles within the space of twenty-four hours; which, according to the slow rate of caravan-travelling, might be reckoned as equivalent to ten days' journeys; therefore, the boast above mentioned, of performing

a journey of ten days in one day may not appear altogether extravagant.

But it would be absurd to suppose any beast capable of running ten times, for an entire day, as a man could go on foot during the same space of time ; and the swiftness of a camel never approaches, for short distances, even to that of a common horse. The gallop of a camel (which is not that quadruped's natural pace) it can never sustain above half an hour, and its forced exertion in galloping never produces a degree of speed equal to that of an ordinary horse. The forced trot of a camel is not so contrary to his nature, and he will support it for several hours without evincing many symptoms of being distressed. But even of that forced trot I must here remark, that it is much less expeditious than the same pace of a moderately good horse, and I believe that the rate of twelve miles an hour is the utmost degree of celerity in trotting that the very best hedjein can accomplish ; it may perhaps gallop at fullest speed eight or even nine miles in half an hour, but it cannot support so violent an exertion for any longer time.

It is not, therefore, by extreme celerity that the hedjeins or delouls are distinguished, however surprising may be the stories related on that subject, both in Europe and in the East. But they are perhaps unequalled by any quadrupeds for the ease with which they carry their rider during an uninterrupted journey of several days and nights, when they are allowed to persevere in their own favourite pace, which is a kind of gentle and easy amble, at the rate of about five miles or five miles and a half in the hour. To describe this pleasant ambling pace, the Arabs say of a good deloul, "His back is so soft that you may drink a cup of coffee while you ride upon him." At the rate above mentioned, if properly fed every evening (or in case of emergency only once in two days), the strong camel will continue ambling for five or six days. I know of camels that went from Baghdad to Sokhne (in the desert of Aleppo) within the space of five days. This is a caravan journey of twenty-one days. Messengers sometimes arrive at Aleppo on the seventh day after they have left Baghdad, distant a journey of twenty-five days, according to the common calculation ; and I have known couriers go from Cairo by land to Mekka (forty-five days' usual journey) in eighteen days, without even changing their camels.

The first thing about which an Arab is solicitous respecting

his camel, when going to undertake a long journey, is the hump. Should he find this well furnished with fat, the Arab knows that his camel will endure considerable fatigue even with a very moderate allowance of food, because he believes that, according to the Arabic saying, "The camel, during the time of that expedition, will feed upon the fat of its own hump." The fact is, that as soon as the hump subsides, the camel begins to desist from much exertion, and gradually yields to fatigue. After a long journey the creature almost loses the hump, and it requires three or four months of repose and copious nourishment to restore it; which, however, does not take place until long after the other parts of the body have been replenished with flesh. Few animals exhibit so rapid a conversion of food into fat, as camels. A few days' rest and plentiful nourishment produce a visible augmentation of flesh, while, on the contrary, a few days employed in travelling without food reduce the creature almost immediately to little more than a skeleton, excepting the hump, which resists the effects of fatigue and starvation much longer.

If a camel has reached the full degree of fatness, his hump assumes the shape of a pyramid, extending its base over the entire back, and occupying altogether one fourth of the creature's whole body. But none of this description are ever seen in cultivated districts, where camels are always, more or less, obliged to work. They are only found among the wealthy Bedouins in the interior of the desert, who keep whole herds of camels merely for the purpose of propagating the breed, and seldom force more than a few of the herd to labour. In spring time, their camels, having been fed for a couple of months upon the tender verdure, increase so much in fat, that they no longer seem belonging to that species of the hard-labouring, caravan or peasant camel.

After the fore teeth of the camel have reached their full length, the first pair of back teeth appear in the beginning of the sixth year; but two years more must elapse before they attain their greatest size. Early in the eighth year the second pair of back teeth, standing behind, and quite separate from the other teeth, make their appearance; and when they are complete, in the tenth year, the third and last pair push forward, and, like the former, grow for two years. The camel, therefore, has not completed its full growth before the twelfth year, and then it is called *rás*. To know the age of a camel under that period, the back teeth are always inspected. The camel lives as long as

forty years ; but after twenty-five or thirty his activity begins to fail, and he is no longer capable of enduring much fatigue. If a camel that has passed his sixteenth year become lean, the Arabs say that he can never be again rendered fat ; and in that case they generally sell him at a low price to the peasants, who feed their cattle better than the inhabitants of the desert.

The common hedjein saddle in Egypt (very slightly differing from a horse-saddle) is called *ghabeit*. The hedjein saddle of the Nubians, imported likewise into Egypt, and very neatly worked in leather, is called *gissa*. The pack-saddle of the Egyptian peasant, different from that of the Arabians and Syrians, is called *shaghour*. (From this word the Arabians derive an opprobrious appellation, which they bestow upon the Egyptian peasants, whom they style *shaghaore*.) The pack-saddles of the Libyan, Nubian, and Upper Egyptian Bedouins are called *Hawje*, and are the same as those of the Arabians.

The deloul saddle is, throughout every part of Arabia, called *shedúd*. The asses in Hedjaz are saddled with the *shedúd*, differing only in proportionable size from that used with the deloul.

In Hedjaz the name of *shebrye* is given to a kind of palanquin, having a seat made of twisted straw, about five feet in length, which is placed across the saddle of the camel, with ropes fastened to it. On its four sides are slender poles, joined above by cross bars, over which either mats or carpets are placed, to shade the traveller from the sun. This among the natives of Hedjaz is the favourite vehicle for travelling, because it admits of their stretching themselves at full length, and sleeping at pleasure.

Similar machines of the palanquin kind, but on a shorter and narrower scale, are placed lengthwise on both sides of the camel's saddle, and then called *shekdef*. One person sits in each of them, but they do not allow of his stretching out at full length. Both of these shekdefs are covered, likewise, with carpets thrown across ; and this vehicle is principally used for the conveyance of women.

Different from that is the *takt roán* (or rather *takht raván*, as the Persians, from whom the term is borrowed, call it) ; a litter carried by two camels, one before, and the other behind. In this kind of vehicle the great pilgrims travel : but it is more frequently used by the Turks than by the Arabians.

It is the fashion in Egypt to shear the hedjein as closely as a

sheep is shorn ; and this is done merely from a notion that it improves the beast's appearance. The French, during their occupation of Egypt, had established a corps of about five hundred camel-riders, whom they selected from the number of their most brave and excellent soldiers, and by means of whom they succeeded in checking the Bedouins. Many horsemen among the troops of the Pasha of Egypt have been ordered by him to keep hedjeins ; and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, has about two hundred of his men mounted in that manner.

The hedjeins of Egypt are guided by a string attached to a nose-ring. Those of Arabia are very seldom perforated in the nose ; and are more obedient to the short stick of the rider than to the bridle.

The Arab women, on all occasions, make a great display in the fitting-out of their camel-saddle. A woman of Nedjd would think herself degraded, were she to ride upon any other than a black camel ; but, on the contrary, a lady of the Aenezes much prefers a grey or white camel.

The practice of mounting upon camels small swivel-guns, which turn upon the pommel of the saddle, is not known in Egypt. I have seen them in Syria ; and they appear to be common in Mesopotamia and Baghdad. Although of little real service, yet against Arabs these small swivel-guns are a very excellent and appropriate weapon, more adapted to inspire them with terror than the heaviest pieces of artillery.

The price of a camel is found to vary in almost every place : thus, in Egypt, according to the abundance and cheapness of provisions, the price of the same camel may fluctuate from twelve to forty dollars. A good dromedary, or hedjein, from Nubia, sometimes will cost at Cairo eighty dollars. In Hedjaz very high prices are paid for camels ; fifty and sixty dollars are sometimes given for a deloul of the most common kind. There is a considerable demand in Nedjd for delouls of the first quality. Saoud has been known to pay as much as three hundred dollars for an Omán camel.

The Arabs distinguish in their camels various defects and vices, that very much affect their value. The principal defect is called *el asaab* ; this is the camel's fetlock ; and they regard it as incurable, and a proof of great weakness. The next is *el fekeh*, a strong tremor in the hind legs of the camel when it couches down, or rises up : this, likewise, is considered as a proof of weakness. *El serrar*, ulcerations below the chest ; *el*

hellel, el fakoura, and many others. Most of the caravan camels are broken-winded (or *sedreh khorbân*) from excessive fatigue, and the carrying of too heavy loads. When this circumstance occurs, the Arabs cauterise the camel's chest. They resort also to the same process, cautery, in cases of wounds on the camel's hump, and of injuries frequently occasioned by bad pack-saddles, and burdens of too great weight. Towards the close of a long journey scarcely any evening passes without the cauterising operation, yet the next morning the load is placed again upon the part so recently burnt: but no degree of pain induces the generous camel to refuse the load, or throw it on the ground. It cannot, however, be forced to rise, if from hunger or excessive fatigue its strength has failed.

XII. LOCUSTS.

It has been remarked in my different journals, that these destructive creatures are found in Egypt, all along the river Nile as far as Sennar, in the Nubian, and in all parts of the Arabian deserts. Those that I have seen in Upper Egypt came all from the north; those that I saw in Nubia were all said to have come from Upper Egypt. It seems, therefore, that such parts of Africa are not the native places of the locusts. In the year 1813, they devoured the whole harvest from Berber to Shendy in the Black countries; and in the spring of that same year I had seen whole flights of them in Upper Egypt, where they are particularly injurious to the palm-trees. These they strip of every leaf and green particle, the trees remaining like skeletons with bare branches.

In Arabia the locusts are known to come invariably from the East, and the Arabs accordingly say that they are produced by the waters of the Persian Gulf. The province of Nedjd is particularly exposed to their ravages; they overwhelm it sometimes to such a degree, that having destroyed the harvest they penetrate by thousands into the private dwellings, and devour whatever they can find, even the leather of the water vessels. It has been observed, that those locusts which come from the East are not considered so formidable, because they only fix upon trees, and do not destroy the seed; but they soon give birth to a new brood, and it is the young locusts, before they are sufficiently grown to fly away, that consume the crops. According to general report, the locusts breed as often as three times in the year.

The Bedouins who occupy the peninsula of Sinai are frequently driven to despair by the multitudes of locusts, which constitute a land plague, and a most serious grievance. These animals arrive by way of Akaba (therefore from the East), towards the end of May, when the Pleiades are setting, according to observations made by the Arabs, who believe that the locusts entertain a considerable dread of that constellation. They remain there generally during a space of forty or fifty days, and then disappear for the rest of the year.

Some few are seen in the course of every year, but great flights every fourth or fifth year; such is the general course of their unwelcome visits. Since the year 1811, however, they have invaded the peninsula every successive season for five years, in considerable numbers.

All the Bedouins of Arabia, and the inhabitants of towns in Nedjd and Hedjaz, are accustomed to eat the locusts. I have seen at Medinah and Tayf locust-shops, where these animals were sold by measure. In Egypt and Nubia they are only eaten by the poorest beggars. The Arabs, in preparing locusts as an article of food, throw them alive into boiling water, with which a good deal of salt has been mixed; after a few minutes they are taken out, and dried in the sun; the head, feet, and wings are then torn off, the bodies are cleansed from the salt and perfectly dried; after which process whole sacks are filled with them by the Bedouins. They are sometimes eaten broiled in butter; and they often contribute materials for a breakfast, when spread over unleavened bread mixed with butter.

It may here seem worthy of remark, that among all the Bedouins with whom I have been acquainted in Arabia, those of Sinai alone do not use the locusts as an article of food.

ART. VI. LITERARY NOTICES, ETC.

I. *Modern Hebrew Manuscripts.* From Henderson's *Travels in Russia*, p. 206 sq.

ON my return through Dubno,* I stopped a few hours in order to visit some of the Jews, by whom it is chiefly inhabited.

* Dubno is not far from Ostrog, in the government of Volhynia.—
ED.

Their number is estimated at upwards of 10,000, and many of them appear to be in affluent circumstances. They have a great number of synagogues; the principal one of which I found greatly resembling our oldest Seceding Meeting-houses in Scotland, having high arched windows, brass chandeliers, and the pulpit, wainscoting, doors, etc. all of unpainted wood. In the ark of this synagogue were preserved several beautiful copies of the law, some written with large, and others with smaller characters. I here made inquiry, as I did in other places, relative to ancient MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures, but found none of any great age. The fact is, when no longer fit for public use in the synagogue, instead of being sold, or kept as objects of curiosity, they are carefully inclosed in a box, and deposited in the burying-ground, it being deemed a most heinous offence to erase or obliterate a single letter of the law, or expose it to the profane gaze of the Gentiles. Some may smile at this custom of interring the Scriptures, and regard it as a superstitious veneration for the mere letter of the word; but it must certainly be viewed as praiseworthy, when contrasted with the manner in which many professing Christians treat mutilated and worn-out copies of the Bible, by using them in a variety of ways as waste-paper, in total absence of reverence for that sacred name which stands forth so prominently in every page. How laudable the practice adopted by the Schleswig-Holstein Bible Society! In order to prevent defective copies from falling into the hands of the grocers, the Committee buy up all the old Bibles to be found, and, after endeavouring to complete them from each other, they collect what is no longer fit for use, and, with becoming solemnity, consume it in a fire kindled for the purpose.

Having expressed a wish to obtain some Hebrew manuscripts, my Jewish guide conducted me down a narrow lane to the house of a *Sopher*, or scribe, whose employment consists in multiplying written copies of the law, according to the established rules of Hebrew calligraphy. His small apartment presented quite a novel scene to my view. On the table before him lay developed an accurate exemplar from which he was taking his copy; rolls of parchment were lying about in every direction: the walls were hung with compasses, inkbottles, and other implements; and in one corner of the room, a number of skins were in a process of preparation for the use to which they were to be appropriated. As I entered, he looked up with all that absence and discomposure which generally characterises those

who are abruptly roused from the absorption connected with deep study, or occupied about some object requiring the application of profound attention. Some remarks, however, on the nature of his occupation, interspersed with a few technical phrases in Hebrew, soon excited his curiosity ; and, laying aside his pen, he readily entered into a conversation respecting his business, and the difficulties inseparable from its proper and conscientious execution.

Unlike other employments, that of a Jewish copyist absolutely and religiously excludes all improvement. He is tied down to perform every part of the work exactly as it was done twelve or thirteen centuries ago, at the period of the composition of the Talmud, to the laws of writing prescribed in which, he must rigidly conform, even in the smallest minutiae. The skins to be converted into parchment must be those of clean animals ; and it is indispensable that they be prepared by the hands of Jews only. Should it be found that any part has been prepared by a *Goi* (a name by which Christians and all who are not Jews are designated), it is immediately thrown aside as unfit for use. When ready they are cut even, and joined together by means of thongs made of the same material. They are then regularly divided into columns, the breadth of which must never exceed the half of their length. The ink employed in writing the law, generally consists of a composition made of pitch, charcoal, and honey, which ingredients are first made up into a kind of paste, and after having remained some time in a state of induration, are dissolved in water with an infusion of galls.

Before the scribe begins his task, and after every interruption, he is required to compose his mind, that he may write under a sensible impression of the sanctity of the words he is transcribing. Particular care is taken that the letters be all equally formed ; and so supreme is the authority of antiquity, that where letters are found in the exemplar of a larger or smaller size than the rest, or such as are turned upside down, or suspended above the line, or where a final-shaped letter occurs in the middle of a word, these blunders are to be copied with as great fidelity as any part of the text. Is it not passing strange, that even Christian editors of the Hebrew Bible, should have servilely followed these Jewish puerilities ? It is well known what importance the genius of Rabbinical superstition has attached to such anomalies ; and it is a fact, that many of them are interpreted in a manner highly reproachful to the religion of Christ.

For instance, in Psalm lxxx. 14, the word מִיַּעַר, "from the wood," is written and printed מִיַּעַר, with the letter *ain* suspended, because it is the initial of the word עֵץ, "tree," and is explained by the Jews, of the cross; while the wild boar referred to in the context, they blasphemously interpret of our blessed Saviour. Yet this error of transcription is printed in the editions of Opatius, Michaelis, Van der Hooght, Frey, Leusden, and Jahn, although corrected in Menasseh Ben Israel's edition of 1635!

Faults that creep in during transcription may be rectified, provided it be done within the space of thirty days; but if more time has elapsed, the copy is declared to be *posel*, or forbidden—a word (פסיל) used in Scripture to denote a graven image, which the Israelites were taught to hold in utter detestation. Should Aleph-Lamed (אל) or Jod-Hê (יה) be wrongly written, it is unlawful to correct or erase them, because they form the sacred names; nor is it permitted to correct any of the Divine names, except when they are applied in an inferior sense. Of this an instance occurs, Gen. iii. 5, where the name אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, is used twice. The Rabbins, regarding it as employed the second time to denote false objects of worship, permit its erasure; but prohibit it at the beginning of the verse, as being undeniably used of the true God. When transcribing the incommunicable name יהוה, *Jehovah*, the scribe must continue writing it until it be finished, even although a king should enter the room; but if he be writing two or three of these names combined, such as יהוה צבאות, אֱלֹהֵי, *Jehovah God of Hosts*, he is at liberty, after having finished the first, to rise and salute his visitor. Nor is the copyist allowed to begin the incommunicable name immediately after he has dipped his pen in the ink; when he is approaching it, he is required to take a fresh supply when proceeding to write the first letter of the preceding word.

Shackled by canons of such exquisite minuteness, it cannot be matter of surprise that the *Dubno* Scribe should exhibit an emaciated appearance, and affix a high price to the productions of his pen. For a copy of the law, fairly written in small characters, he asked ten louis-d'ors, and assured me that he had been sometimes paid at the rate of fifty. To the intrinsic value and spiritual beauty of the law of the Lord he appeared totally insensible!

Turning round the corner of a square, my attention was arrested by an immense number of books that were lying open

on the ground. Conceiving that they were exposed for sale, and finding, on reaching them, that they were Hebrew, I eagerly commenced an examination of the more bulky and respectable looking volumes; but I was soon undeceived by a Jew, who seemed to be watching them, by whom I was informed, that they belonged to the Synagogue, and were not to be sold. Besides several copies of the Talmud, there appeared to be a complete collection of all kinds of works in Rabbinical literature.

II. Jewish Wedding. Illustration of Matt. XXV. From the same, p. 216.

Before retiring to rest [at Kamenetz in Podolia], we were stunned by the noise of a procession, led on by a band of musicians playing on tambourines and cymbals, which passed our windows. On inquiry, we learned that it consisted of a Jewish bridegroom, accompanied by his young friends, proceeding to the house of the bride's father, in order to convey her home to her future residence. In a short time, they returned with such a profusion of lights, as quite illuminated the street. The bride, deeply veiled, was led along in triumph, accompanied by her virgins, each with a candle in her hand, who, with the young men, sang and danced before her and the bridegroom. The scene presented us with an ocular illustration of the important parable recorded in the twenty-fifth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew; and we were particularly reminded of the appropriate nature of the injunction which our Saviour gives us to watch and be ready, for the re-procession must have commenced immediately on the arrival of the bridegroom.

III. Further Notice of the Karaites. See p. 665 above.

We subjoin here, as an additional notice of the Karaites of Tauride, the following graphic description of their fortress, Djufut-Kalè, from the pen of the celebrated Russian traveller, Muriaviev-Apostol.*

"Venice is a city in the water, Djufut-Kalè a city in the air. The dwellings of the Karaites hang like eagles' nests around the summit of a steep inaccessible rock; within, the city is cleanly and neat; its pavement is the solid rock. The Karaim, or more

*See p. 385 of this Vol.

correctly, the Karaites, are, in their customs and mode of living; Tartars; in their religion; Jews, genuine Jews, who have preserved the Mosaic law among them in greater purity than any other tribe. Since the fourth century a portion of the Jews have rejected the Talmud; but it was only in the eighth century that this led to a formal separation of the sects. The Karaites, under Aaron and Saul, declared off from the Rabbinites; but their sect remained small; and they are estimated in Europe and Asia at only 4430.* They reject the Kabbala and the Talmud; and observe the Sabbath still more strictly than the Rabbinic Jews. At the same time, they are more cleanly, more domestic, and more industrious than the latter; they daily descend from their nests, wander into Baghtchisarai, follow there traffic or trades, and return at night through wind and storm back to their nests. Zion and Jehoshaphat,† the enjoyments of life and the hopes of the grave, all centre for them upon this naked rock."

IV. *Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.*

The Editor would take this opportunity of accounting to the public for any apparent delay in the publication of the above named work, and also of making known some of the principles on which the preparation of it is conducted.

The work as first published in 1825, was, as it professed to be, mostly a translation of the first edition of Wahl's '*Clavis Philologica*;' although several of the more important articles were rewritten, and the whole sedulously revised. It was the first attempt of Wahl; it was also the first labour of the translator; the lexicons of Bretschneider and Passow were not then accessible. Since that time the labours of eminent men abroad have been given to this subject; while the lexicography of the Greek language in general has received a new form from the hand of Passow. After the lapse of nine years, too, spent in this and kindred studies at home and abroad, and with free access to all the earlier stores as well as to what has recently appeared in this department, the Editor hopes that he himself may be in a better situation to make a work adapted to the present state of science and to the wants of our theologians, than before. It was his first hope, that a mere revision might suffice; so that the new

* Comp. p. 673 above.

† Comp. p. 669 above.

edition might have appeared before the present time. But on examination, he has found it necessary to write the whole anew, on a plan more comprehensive than any of the existing lexicons; and combining in all cases a reference to both the elements of which the New Testament idiom is composed,—the *common* dialect or later Greek on the one hand, and the Jewish or Hebrew influence on the other. The work is now in press, and is proceeding with all the rapidity which such an undertaking permits; but the writer will rejoice, if, by the blessing of God, he shall be able to complete it in another year. It is and will be the object of his daily, though not ungrateful toil; and not improbably may, under God, become the chief labour of his life. The number of pages will be very considerably enlarged; but, it is hoped, that no increase of price will be necessary.

The work was commenced, and has thus far been constructed, upon the general principles exemplified in the lexicons of Gesenius and Passow, so far as they are applicable to the New Testament. The following are some of the points of special attention:

1. To exhibit the etymology of every word, and assign its primary signification, whether found in the N. T. or not; then, to deduce from this, in logical order, all the significations which occur in the N. T. but not others.

2. To keep ever in view the difference between signification and sense; and to shew in each case whether the apparent meaning of a word arises from itself, or from the influence of the adjuncts. In this way, the multiplicity of meanings given by Schleusner and other lexicographers, is greatly diminished.

3. To shew by proper illustrations and references, in what relation each word stands to the Attic and later Greek, and also to the Sept. and Hebrew; and whether it is common to all or any of these, or found in none. A purely *historical* mode of illustration is, of course, not adapted to the New Testament.

4. To shew particularly the force and power of the prepositions in composition; a point hitherto almost wholly overlooked.

5. To give in every instance the various construction of verbs, adjectives, etc. with their cases and other adjuncts. Unusual or difficult constructions, also, are every where noted and explained.

6. To exhibit, so far as is proper in a lexicon, the various forms and inflexions of words,—and particularly any variety or irregularity of form.

7. To make each article, so far as practicable, include a re-

ference to every passage of the New Testament where the word is found. In this way the lexicon becomes almost a complete New Testament Concordance.

8. To bestow upon the interpretation of difficult passages all the attention which the limits of a lexicon permit; that thus it may in a measure supply the place of a more extended commentary upon the New Testament.

Such is the plan of the work. How far the author may be able to succeed in it, will belong to the theological public to judge.

V. *Miscellaneous.*

The Leipzig semi-annual Book-Catalogue of July 1, 1834, gives the titles of the following works as published in the first half of the present year.

1. *BIBLIA HEBRAICA, ex recensione Hahnii expressa. Praefatus est E. F. C. Rosenmueller. Editio Stereotypa. Lips. Tauchnitz, large 12mo. Pr. 2 rixd.* This is a corrected reprint of Hahn's Hebrew Bible, in a smaller form.

2. On Isaiah we find the following works: *HITZIG, F. Der Prophet Jesaja, übersetzt und ausgelegt, pp. 680. ROSEN-MUELLER, Scholia in V. Test. P. III. Vol. III. Etiam sub tit. Jesajae Vatic. annot. perpet. illustr. Vol. III. ed. 3.* This last is a new edition of Rosenmueller's third Vol. on Isaiah in his large work. It is not the Compend, or smaller work.

3. The Epistle to the Romans is also the fruitful source of commentary: *JAEGER, C. F. H. Der Lehrgehalt des Römer-Briefs entwickelt, pp. 80. Tübingen. REICHE, Prof. in Göttingen, Versuch einer ausführlichen Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer, mit historischen Einleitungen und exegetisch-dogmatischen Excursen. 2 Bde. Price 4 rixd.*

4. The Epistle to the Ephesians seems likewise at present to be the object of special attention in Germany, no less than three new commentaries upon it being announced, viz. *HOLZ-HAUSEN, Der Brief an die Epheser übersetzt und erklärt, pp. 220. 8vo. MATTHIES Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Epheser, pp. 200. 8vo. RÜCKERT L. F. Der Brief Pauli an die Epheser erläutert und vertheidigt, pp. 312. 8vo.*

5. *KALKAR C. H. de Cantico Deborah, Jud. V. pp. 108. 8vo.*

6. OLSHAUSEN Prof. H. (Königsb.) Wort der Verständigung über die Stellung des Evangeliums zu unserer Zeit, pp. 24. 8vo.
7. OLSHAUSEN Prof. J. (Kiel,) Zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem, pp. 84. 8vo.
8. ORIGINIS Opera Omnia, ed. De La Rue, denuo rec. C. H. E. Lommatzsch, Tom. I—III. Berl.
9. RHEINWALD, Prof. De pseudodocoribus Colossensibus, Comm. exegetico-hist. pp. 20. 4to.
10. SCHNECKENBURGER M. Ueber den Ursprung des ersten kanonischen Evangeliums; pp. 176. 8vo. Stuttg.
11. SCHNEIDER P. J. Biblisch-geschichtliche Darstellung der Hebräischen Musik, pp. 120. 8vo. Bonn.
12. SCHOTT und WINZER, Commentarii in Epistolas N. T. Vol. I.—Etiam sub titulo, Epist. Pauli ad Thess. et Gal. comment. perpet. illustr. H. A. Schott, pp. 632, 8vo. Leipz.
13. FREYTAG, G. W. Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, Tom. III. Sect. 1. i. e. the first part of the last volume.—Also, *Chrestomathia Arabica* grammatica-historica in usum schol. ex codicis ineditis conscripta. pp. 221. 8vo. Bonn.
14. GESENIUS, de Bar Alio et Bar Bahlulo, lexicographis Syro-Arabicis ineditis. pp. 68. 4to.—The *eleventh* edition of his small Hebrew Grammar has also appeared.
15. A second edition of VON HAMMER's great work, 'Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,' is also in progress.
16. RITTER C. Ueber das historische Element in der geographischen Wissenschaft, pp. 60. 4to. Berl.
17. ROST V. C. F. Kleine Grammatik des Attischen Dialects, pp. 288. 8vo. Götting.
18. SCHMIDT J. J. Grammatik der Mongolischen Sprache, pp. 384. 8vo. St. Petersburg. This writer is the celebrated oriental, or rather Mongol scholar, mentioned on p. 386 of this volume.
19. SIEBOLD, P. F. *Nippon*, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan, etc. (2 Numbers and Atlas.) pp. 600. fol. Price 17½ rixd. This is the commencement of the great work descriptive of Japan which we have already noticed, Bibl. Repos. III. p. 760.
20. SUDAE Lexicon, post Küsterum rec. TH. GASSFORD

S. T. P. III Tom. Fol. Oxon. Lond. et Lips. Pr. 614 rixd.—The edition by Bernhardt of Halle, in 2 vols. quarto, is in progress.

21. The third Volume or Section of NEANDER's 'Kirchengeschichte' is in press, comprising the period from A. D. 510 to A. D. 813, in one part or volume.—His 'History of the Apostolic Age,' is announced as being in a course of translation in England.

ART. VII. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

In closing, as we here do, our editorial labours, we are happy in being able to lay before our readers the subjoined extracts of letters from Christian friends abroad. The excellent catholic spirit which they breathe, will, we doubt not, be responded to in full by the American churches. To the Editor himself, also, it cannot but be gratifying to learn, by such a voice from a remote quarter of the globe, that his own labours have not been wholly in vain.—ED.

I. *Extracts from a letter to the Editor from the REV. W. H. PEARCE, Member of the English Baptist Mission at Calcutta.*

CALCUTTA, 26TH MARCH, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,

To a benevolent mind nothing can be more grateful than the conviction, that its labours are extensively beneficial. Under this impression, you will bear with pleasure that on the shores of the sacred Ganges, and by Missionaries of another denomination and of a different nation, your labours as Editor of the Biblical Repository are known and appreciated. Having sometime since procured, through an unknown but valued friend, all the numbers of this work as far as published, I have felt in it a great degree of interest. The design and the execution cannot but commend themselves to every biblical student; while the work is peculiarly valuable to Missionaries like ourselves engaged in preparing translations of the sacred oracles for the use of

heathen nations. May it be long continued and vigorously supported!

* * * *

I have not time to allude particularly to the state of missions here. In individual conversions we are not making much progress; in *general impression* throughout the country, Christianity is rapidly advancing. We greatly need *more labourers*; and shall be most happy to welcome more *American* brethren, be they of what denomination they may, to fellowship in our exertions and success.

I have the pleasure to forward, by this conveyance, a letter from a most intelligent and benevolent gentleman, possessed of much influence, recommending your Board to establish a mission in Ajmere. This, as well as all other parts of this vast country under British authority, is now accessible to Christian Missionaries of all denominations or nations; and I hazard nothing in saying, that to our Government and to most of the native Princes around us, the fact of sustaining the missionary character has now ceased to be an obstacle to the employment of any one in the great work of national education, which is commencing all around us.

I have the pleasure of ranking among my dearest friends several students of Andover and Princeton, as well as our own seminaries; and shall be truly rejoiced to receive under our roof, in progress to their respective stations, many more from these excellent Institutions. Pray make my respects acceptable to the instructors at Andover, (unknown they are, yet beloved for their works' sake,) and present to the students, especially to those preparing for the pains and pleasures of a missionary life, my most affectionate regards.

I remain,

My Dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

W. H. PEARCE.

II. *Extracts from a letter to the Editor from PROF. NEANDER of the University of Berlin. Translated from the German.*

BERLIN, JULY 6, 1834.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It was very pleasing to me, after having been so long without any external connexion with you, to receive some intelligence

directly from your own hand. I thank you heartily for the numbers of the Repository. I rejoice to see such an intercourse of mind and spirit set on foot between the United States and Germany. Indeed, Christianity is doubtless to become the element of catholic union among all nations; and one of the delightful signs of the times is, that it already begins to manifest itself as such. I rejoice also in the free and pious evangelical spirit, which shews itself among your young theologians.

* * *

Here with us the old and the new stand in manifold contrast and conflict with each other; out of which it is reserved for the Spirit of God, to build up the higher unity, upon the one only foundation, Christ. O, that this one foundation, in the midst of all differences, might ever secure constant love and communion! You will have heard of the death of that great man, Schleiermacher, which makes an epoch among us. The manner of his christian departure, so edifying to all, was the seal of that which animated his life; and served as a confutation to some zealous partisans, who were unwilling to acknowledge him as a Christian. He was a great instrument of God, in Germany, in forming a point of transition from unbelief to belief, and in preparing the way for an epoch of new developement in theology, the consequences of which may probably extend themselves beyond the ocean,—a new epoch, which, in contrast both with the old Scholastics and the later Rationalism, shall set theology free from the fetters of school-wisdom. This new creation it remains for the future to unfold. May He, who alone is able, bring it both here and there to a glorious accomplishment, when the hour destined by Him shall have arrived! The church and the world are in the throes!

For yourself I implore his richest blessings, in body and in spirit.

From the heart yours,
NEANDER.

With these impressive views of the respected Neander, the Editor bids the readers of the Repository FAREWELL!

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